

A NOTE ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE LINGA WORSHIP IN INDIA

By

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One of the important aspects of the Śiva-cult is the worship of the *Liṅga* or phallus. Phallicism is one of the ancient forms of worship both in India and elsewhere. The association of the phallus worship with the cult of Śiva who is often regarded as a god of generation (inspite of the destructive function assigned to him in Hindu trinity) has played an important role in the religious-life of the Neo-Brahmanic people. It is a matter of common knowledge that though Śiva was imaged and worshipped in various forms, his worship in phallic form commands the widest popularity. The phallus worship in India is pre-Aryan in origin, though it was foreign to the Vedic people.

The Mohenjodaro male-god depicted in *yugic* posture with animals around him has been represented with an *ūrdhvameḍhra*. Moreover, among the minor antiquities discovered at Mohenjodaro and Harappa there are a large number of aniconic stones which can be taken for realistic representations of phalli.¹ It is thus evident that the phallus-worship goes back to the Mohenjodaro days. Further evidence on the existence of this form of worship is afforded by the discovery of two stones, one a phallus and the other a *yoṇi* at the chalcolithic sites of Mughalghundai and Perianoghundai² respectively.

The *Rigveda* seems to refer to the practice of the phallus-worship as prevailing among the non-Aryan people who are described there as *Sīnadevas*. In the *Rigveda*, VII, 21.5 Indra is implored to repel the hostile beings, and not to allow the *Sīnadevas* (i.e. whose god is *sīna*) to approach the sacred

1. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 59f., pl. XIV, Nos. 2 and 4; Vate, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, pp. 369-71.

2. Marshall—Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 59, pl. XIII, Nos. 1, 7 and 9.

ceremony. In the same text X. 99.3 Indra is praised as having slain the *Śiśnadevas* and conquered by his craft the riches of their city with hundred gates. This shows that the *Śiśnadevas* were a class of people who were non-Aryans, and considered hostile by the Aryan people. The word *Śiśnadevas* has been variously interpreted. In the opinion of certain European and Indian scholars *Śiśnadevas* mean those whose god is *śiśna* (or phallus).¹ Sāyaṇa on the authority of Yāska, however, interprets *Śiśnadevas* as those who sport with *śiśna* (membrum virile) i.e. unchaste men, Durgāchārya, the commentator of the *Nirukta* explains the word more or less in the same way as Yāska. According to him those people are *Śiśnadevas* who 'are always dallying' carnally with the prostitutes forsaking Vedic observances (*śiśnena nitya meva prakīrṇābhīḥ strībhīḥ sākam krīḍan ahāsate śrautāni karmāñjutsrijya*). In the *Rigveda* VII 21.5 the *Śiśnadevas* are mentioned along with the Yātava. Further, while commenting upon the word *śiśna* in the *Rigveda*, X. 27.19 Sāyaṇa finds an allusion to the Rākshashas (*rākshasādīvṛimdāni*). It is quite possible that *śiśna* of the passage (R. V. X. 27.19) and the *Śiśnadevas* of the passage (X.99.3) denote the same people.² Thus it appears that the *Śiśnadevas* were phallus-worshippers and they were beyond the pale of the Vedic society. The discoveries at Mohenjodaro combined with the Vedic references stated above prove beyond doubt that the phallus-worship was a non-Aryan rite. This is supported also by the fact that several places considered sacred as the peculiar residences of *Jyotiḥ Lingas* are generally in the south and north-east at a great distance from the original settlements of the orthodox Brahmanical faith. In Marhatta countries where Saivites generally prevail, the *Brāhmaṇas* do not officiate in the *Linga*-temples. There is a caste separate for that known as Guravā, a distinct Order of men being originally of Śūdra stock.

With the growth of Neo-Brahmanism as found in the epics and *Purāṇas*, however, the phallic rite came to be closely asso-

1. Macdonell and Keith—*Vedic Index*.

2. J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I. pp. 69ff.

ciated with the Aryan faith as an essential element of Saivism. In the *Anusāsana parva* we are told that Krishna proceeded to the Himalayas to propitiate Śiva to have a son for Jāmbavatī through Śiva's grace. On his way Krishna met Upamanyu, an ardent devotee of Śiva who acquainted him with the glories and attributes of the god (i.e. Śiva). To test his devotion, Mahadeva appeared before Upamanyu in the guise of Indra and offered to grant him a boon of his choice. The devoted Upamanyu refused to accept favour from any god other than Mahādeva and dwelt at length on the various attributes of Śiva and the reasons as to why he was regarded as the Supreme creator. The following lines from Upamanyu's passionate speech are very significant in this connection: "Is Isa (Mahādeva) the cause of causes from any other reasons? We have not heard that the *Linga* of any other person is worshipped by the gods. He whose *Linga* Brahma, Vishnu, and Thou (Indra) with the deities continually worship is therefore the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahma's), nor of the discus (Vishnu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's) but are marked with the male and female organs, therefore offspring are derived from Mahādeva. All women produced from the nature of Devi as their cause are marked with the female organ, and all males are marked with the *Linga* of Hara!" From this passage it is clear that the *Linga*-worship was widely prevalent in the Aryan society in the epic times.

There are numerous references to the *Linga* worship in Puranic literature. In the *Ingapurāna* an account is given of the fiery *Linga* of Mahadeva which sprang up before Brahmā and Vishnu, while they were fighting for supremacy. Both of them (i.e. Brahmā and Vishnu) were put to shame as after travelling upwards and downwards for a thousand years in

¹ Muir, *O. S. T.*, Vol. 4, p. 192-93. The *Anusāsana parva* contains more references to the *Linga* worship. There is a reference to the *Linga* worship in the *Uttarakanda* of the *Ramayana*. It is stated there that wherever Ravana went, he carried a golden *Linga* which he worshipped with incense and flowers of ambrosial odour. Muir, *O. S. T.*, Vol. 4, p. 406.

each direction neither could approach its termination. Upon the *Linga* was visible the sacred monosyllable 'OM' by which Brahmā and Vishṇu became enlightened, and they acknowledged the superior might and glory of Śiva.¹ Further in the same text "Pradhāna (nature) is called the *Linga* and Parameśvara is called Liṅgin.....the pedestal of the Linga is Mahādevī and the Linga is the visible Maheśvara". The epic-puranic literature thus reveals that the phallus-worship came to be clothed with a mystic and philosophical meaning and recognised as inseparable part of the Śaivic cult in the Neo-Brāhmaṇic society.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the *Linga*-worship did not come into use among the higher class of people at the time of Patañjali and it was unknown even in the time of Vimakadphises. In support of this he says that Patañjali in his commentary on Pāṇinian *sūtra* V. 3.99 refers to the image of Śiva and not his *Linga* as an object of adoration. On the coins of Vimakadphises who was a devout worshipper of Śiva there is the anthropomorphic representation of Śiva either with the trident or the bull, but the phallus is conspicuous by its absence².

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar also holds more or less a similar view. In his lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics he assigns the Gudimallam-*Linga* to the early fourth century A.D. and observes that it was in the beginning of the Gupta period that the *Linga*-worship was foisted on the Śiva-cult³.

The above-mentioned theories are now untenable in the light of the subsequent researches on the point. Even if it is difficult to adduce any dated literary evidence of the existence of the *Linga*-worship in Brahmanical society in period prior to the Christian era, there is abundance of archaeological material

1. *Lingapurāṇa*, Chapters XVII and XVIII.

2. Gopinath Rao, *The Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, part I, p. 59.

3. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 115.

4. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics* pp. 19-20.

to prove that the *Linga-worship* as associated with Śiva-cult was widely prevalent in the orthodox society from C 3rd century B C

One of the earliest sculptured representations of Linga is Gudimallam-*Linga* in South India. It is 5 ft in height and bears upon its front portion a figure of Śiva with two arms. Śiva stands astride on the shoulders of an Apasmāra *Purusha*. "This *Linga* is composed of two parts, nut and the shaft of the membrum virile each of them shaped exactly like the original model in a state of erection!"

The Gudimallam-*Linga* has been assigned to the 2nd century B C by Gopinath Rao². Coomaraswamy also has supported this view³, Dr D R Bhandarkar does not seem to be justified in assigning this sculpture to the Gupta period.

The Gudimallam-*Linga* shows not only that the *Linga-worship* was associated with Neo-Brahmanic Śiva-cult as early as the 2nd century B C, but also that Saivism was a well recognised cult in centuries earlier than the Christian era. It may be stated in passing that the Śātavāhanas were among the earliest benefactors of Śiva-worship in South India. The Talagunda inscription of the time of Kadamba Śāntivarman refers to an ancient temple of Śiva being worshipped by Śatakarni, who was probably Śrī-Śatakarni⁴ (of the 1st century B C) belonging to the Śātavāhana dynasty. That Saivism was a popular cult in South India during this period is also proved by the occurrence of such names as Bhūtapāla, Mahādevanaka, Śivadatta, Śivapālita⁵ etc in South Indian inscriptions of the Śātavahana rulers and their contemporaries.

Reverting to the subject of the *Linga-worship* we may refer now to another representation of *Linga*. This *Linga* was found in Bhīta. R D Banerji describes it as follows "The top of

¹ Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol II, part I, p 68

² Ibid

³ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p 39

⁴ Gopinath Rao, *Op. cit.*, Vol II, part I, p 68

⁵ *Eph Ind*, Vol VIII, p 31f

⁶ Dr D R Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, June, 1919 p 78.

the *Liṅga* is shaped as the bust of the male holding a vase in the left hand, while the right hand is raised in *abhaya-mudrā* posture. Below the bust where the waist of the figure should have been are four human heads, one at each corner.....The phallus is marked by the deeply drawn lines¹."

Mr. Banerji took the four faces on the corners as four female busts but on a close examination they appear, as Gopinath Rao has pointed out, to be the representation of four male figures. In his opinion the sculpture in question can be regarded as one of the Mukhaliṅga having five faces "corroborating to the Īśāṇa, Tatpurusha, Aghora and Vāmadeva aspects of Śiva²."

This sculpture contains an inscription in Brāhmī script of the Ist century B.C. R.D. Banerji reads and translates it as follows:—Khajahuti-putanam L (iiñ) go patiḥapiṭo Vāsethi-putenā Nāgasirinā piyatā [m]d(c)vatā. "The *Liṅga* of the sons of Khajuhati, was dedicated by Nāgasiri (Nāgaśri), the son of Vāsethi (Vāśishṭhi). May the deity be pleased³."

A Śiva-*linga*⁴ with the figure of Śiva has been found also at Mathurā. This figure is analogous to that of the Gudimallam-*Liṅga*, the difference being that the present Śiva-figure is four-armed, whereas Gudimallam-Siva has only two arms. Further, there is at the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, a Śiva-*liṅga* installed on a pedestal with two noble men worshipping it with garlands and flowers⁵. Stylistically, these sculptures can be assigned to the Kushān period. Mathurā has yielded also several Ardhanārīśvara figures (of the Kushān period) representing Śiva in the Urddhvareta aspect⁶:

1. R. D. Banerji *A. S. I., A. R.* 1909-10, p. 147-48.

2. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. I, p. 64.

3. Dr. Bhandarkar differs from R. D. Banerji with regard to the reading as well as interpretation of the inscription, *Lectures on Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 20-21.

4. V. S. Agarwala, *J. I. S. O. A.*, Vol. IV, pl. XXII, fig. I.

5. V. S. Agarwala, *Hand-Book to the Sculptures of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology*, Muttra, p. 42, *J. I. S. O. A.*, Vol. IV, pl. XXII, fig. 1.

6. V. S. Agarwala, *J. I. S. O. A.*, Vol. V, p. 127.

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[Part 1

SAIVISM AND THE INDUS CIVILISATION

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'AMONG the many revelations that Mohenjo-dārō and Harappā have had in store for us,' says Sir John Marshall, 'none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery that Saivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world.'¹ The age fixed for the Indus Civilisation is the fourth and third millenia B.C., and Marshall is certain that in the highly developed culture of the Indus peoples no vestige of Indo-Āryan influence is to be found.² Among the finds on which Marshall bases his theory that Saivism or what preceded it must have been prevalent in the Indus valley alongside the cult of the Mother Goddess the important ones are a male figure in meditative pose on a roughly carved seal and certain objects of cult-worship, *viz.*, those resembling the phallus, identified with the *linga*, and ring-stones, representing the *yoni* or vulva.

The figure on the seal which is regarded by Marshall as a prototype of the historic Siva, is that of a three-faced God, 'seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude

¹ See *Moh. Ind.*, I. viii.

² *Ibid.*, v.

of Yoga, with legs bent double beneath him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched, his hands with thumbs to front, resting on his knees The lower limbs are bare and the phallus (*ūrdhvame-dhra*) seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what appears to be the phallus is in reality the end of the waistband. Crowning his head is a pair of horns meeting in a tall head-dress. To either side of the God are four animals, an elephant and tiger on his proper right, a rhinoceros and buffalo on his left. Beneath the throne are two deer standing with heads regardant and horns turned to the centre.³

Sir John Marshall sees in this figure certain distinctive features which came to be attributed to Śiva in historic times. (1) The first trait to be noted is that the god is three-faced (*trimukha*). We know that Śiva was portrayed in later times with one, three, four, or five faces. Though only three faces are visible in the figure on the seal, it may well be that the god represented there is four-faced, with the fourth face to be understood at the back. The significance of ascribing four faces to the god is that he looks in all directions over the four quarters of the universe. (2) The second feature of this pre-Āryan god that links him with the historic Śiva, says Marshall, is his peculiar Yogi-like posture, with feet drawn up beneath him, toes turned down, and hands extended above the knees. Śiva is pre-eminently the prince of Yogis—the typical ascetic and self-mortifier, whence his names *Mahātapah*, *Mahāyogi*. (3) Thirdly, the four animals grouped about the god probably indicate his lordship over the beasts. One of the appellations of Rudra in the Rg-Veda and of Śiva in historic times is *Pasupati*, "lord of cattle." (4) 'Still another attribute that helps to con-

³ *Ibid.*, 52.

nect this unknown God with Śiva, though it does not amount to actual evidence of identity, is the pair of horns crowning his head' The horns in such cases have a special significance 'They were regarded as the emblems of the deity into which category sometimes kings and priests were included In later days the horns disappeared from the images of gods But a survival thereof is to be found in the *trisūla* or trident, which is a special adjunct of Śiva (5) Lastly, the historic Śiva may be connected to the figure on the Mohenjo dāro seal through the deer beneath the seat of the god 'Two deer in a like position are portrayed on many mediaeval images of Śiva, especially when he appears in the form of *Daksināmūrti* or *Yogadaksināmūrti*, and a deer (*mṛga*) held in one of his hands is a frequent attribute of the god in other manifestations' On these grounds, then, Sir John Marshall concludes that the god on the seal is the prototype, in his most essential aspects, of the historic Śiva

That the grounds on which Marshall has built his theory are not unshakable, he is himself conscious Regarding two of his observations the learned archaeologist has himself expressed doubt What appears to be the seemingly exposed phallus may well be in reality the end of the waistband, he thinks And he also agrees that the pairs of horns on the head does not amount to actual evidence of the identification of the god with Śiva But he fails to see that similar doubts shadow the other points of similarity suggested by him Brushing aside the hypothesis that the fourth face is at the back, could we identify the figure on the seal with Śiva because it has three faces? A categorical answer in the affirmative is not justified, as the three-faced figure may also mean, as Marshall himself does not fail to grant, 'a syncretic form of three deities rolled into one,' especially as 'the conception of the triad

or trinity is a very old one in India' and 'it was equally old in Mesopotamia.' The Yogic posture, again, cannot be a conclusive evidence for identifying the god with Śiva, because even among the Mohenjo-dāro finds we have in the same posture a statue of a male figure and a deity in a small faience sealing, for whose identification with Śiva we have no sound reasons. As regards the four animals, Marshall himself offers an alternative explanation in a footnote, where he says that 'it may be that the four quarters are represented by the four animals to the right and left of the deity, just as on the capital of Asoka column at Sārnātha they are represented by the elephant, lion, bull and horse.'⁴ We are now left with the two deer beneath the throne; and it will not be difficult to see that they by themselves do not warrant the identification of the god on the seal with Śiva. All that we would like to say is that the figure on the 'roughly carved seal' provides very slender evidence for the theory which Sir John Marshall evolves out of it. The reasons such as he has been able to find do not provide enough ground for concluding that the god on the Mohenjo-dāro seal is the pre-Āryan Śiva.

Turning to the phallic emblems and the baetylic stones, Sir John Marshall observes that these must have formed objects of worship in the Indus valley. Among the Mohenjo-dāro and Harappā finds there are three classes of aniconic objects that merit attention in this connection. The first class comprises those which are unquestionably phallic, more or less realistically modelled, and also others which are more conventionized in shape whose phallic character, therefore, is not so obvious. Those other objects vary in size from half an inch to a foot or thereabouts in height. And Marshall's conjecture is

⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

that they were all 'sacred objects of some sort, the larger ones serving as aniconic agalmata for cult purposes, the smaller as amulets to be carried on the person, just as miniature lingas are commonly carried by Saivites of to-day.' The stones of the second class are more varied in size than those of the first; and in shape they are like many of the *lingas* seen in Siva temples to-day. But since it is unlikely that the phallic emblem would have been conventionalised in two different forms in the Indus Valley, Marshall is led to think that probably these pertained to the baetylic cults which along with those of the Mother Goddesses would seem to have been prevalent then in the countries of the Near and Middle east. The third class of the stone objects comprises ring-stones found in large numbers both at Mohenjo-dāro and Harrappā. Their size varies from half an inch to nearly four feet in diameter. Rejecting the alternative explanations that the ring stones might have been threaded on poles to form columns or that they might have been used as stone-money similar to the stone wheel-money in use on the islands of Uap in the Carolines, Marshall suggests that these ring-stones might have had the same cultural, fetish or magical significance that the ring-stones of the Mauryan period had and whose connection with the female principle could hardly be mistaken. Concluding his observations on the topic, the learned archaeologist says, 'whether these three types (of stones) represent three distinct cults is uncertain; but it is not unnatural to suppose that linga and yoni worship may have been associated then, as they were later under the aegis of Saivism.'⁵

The assumption that lends countenance to the plausibility of Marshall's theory is that the worship of *linga* that forms an integral part of historic Saivism is phallic

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18-63.

in character. Assuming that the *Siva-linga* is a representation of the phallus, it is easy to connect it with the phallic cult objects found in the Indus Valley and elsewhere. But has the assumption a high degree of probability? Was the *linga-worship* derived from the phallic cults? It is no doubt true that phallic cult objects have been unearthed here and there by the spade of the archaeologists. Some of these have been found on the pre-historic sites of the Indus Valley. But what ground is there to connect the *linga* with these objects? In the *Anusāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* we meet for the first time with the phallic interpretation of the *Siva-linga*. The passages in which the account occurs are very late; and it is possible that the theory was evolved out of a confusion between the *linga-worship* and the cult of the phallus. Attempts have been made to read a reference to phallic worship in the word *śiṣnadevāḥ* occurring in the *R̥gveda*. This is what Macdonell says: ‘A symbol must have been used, as at a later period, in the phallic worship which was known by the occurrence in two passages of the word “Śiṣna Devāḥ.” “Those who have a phallus for their deity.”’ Such worship was, however, repugnant to the religious ideas of the *R̥gveda*; for Indra is besought not to let the Śiṣna Devāḥ approach the sacrifice,⁶ and he is said to have slain the Śiṣna Devāḥ, when he won the treasure of the hundred-gated fort.⁷ In the post-Vedic period, the phallus or *linga* became symbolical of Śiva’s generative power and its worship is widely diffused even at the present day.⁸ As against the view of Macdonell and others it has been urged that the word *śiṣnadevāḥ* admits of other

⁶ vii. 21. 5.

⁷ x. 99. 3.

⁸ Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, 155. Dr. A. P. Karmarkar takes the expression to mean ‘those (Gods) possessed of a Śiṣna (Śiṣnayuktāḥ devāḥ)’. See B. C. Law Volume Part I, 459, 1945.

interpretations Sāyana, for instance, takes the word to mean 'those who sport with the *sīṣṇa* (membrum virile), i.e., unchaste men' and he quotes Yāska as his authority Durgācārya, the commentator on the *Nirukta*, gives the same explanation as Sāyana Roth thinks that the word is a sarcastic appellation for priapic or lustful demons⁹ It is by no means certain, therefore, that *sīṣṇadevāḥ* means worshippers of the phallus Even if it did, it would only show that there were such worshippers in the age of the *Rgveda*, and would not prove either that they were identical with *linga* worshippers or that the *linga* is a representation of the phallus

It is worthy of note that there are explanations available of the *linga* which do not savour of the phallic cults The word 'linga' means 'mark' or 'sign' In the present context it signifies the symbol of God Just as the '*Omkāra*' is the sound symbol representing Brahman, the *linga* is the form symbol signifying the Most High There are other *pratikas* or images of God But the excellence of the *linga* consists in its suggestion of the formlessness and infinitude of the Supreme Properly speaking, there is no image of God who is a-*linga* (without distinguishing marks)¹⁰ But man requires for the purpose of concentration or meditation some mark which will stand for the Deity And of all the visible representations, the *linga* is the least objectionable, because it serves to convey the idea of a God who transcends all distinctions The *Linga purāna* abounds in passages which endorse the view that the *linga* is but a symbol of the really uncharact- terisable God For example, one of the verses reads thus

‘lingo linga mulam tu avyaktam lingam ucyate
alingah Śiva ity ukto lingam Śaivism iti smṛtam’

⁹ OST, IV 409

¹⁰ See *Kathopanisad*, vi 8

'The root of *linga* is what is without any mark ; the unmanifest is called *linga*.. What is without any mark is said to be Śiva ; the *linga*, it is thought, is what relates to Śiva.'¹¹ There is also the story in the Purāṇa of how Śiva became a pillar of light whose top and bottom could not be reached by Brahmā and Viṣṇu. The *linga* may be regarded as a representation of this column of light. As alternative explanations are thus available, it would not be right to state dogmatically that the *linga* was evolved out of the primitive phallism. 'Of all the representations of the deity which India has imagined' observes Barth, 'these (*lingas*) are perhaps the least offensive to look at.'¹² In fact, in the mind of no genuine devotee of Śiva is the idea of the membrum virile generated when he worships the Śiva-*linga*.

In the absence of any conclusive evidence to show that the *linga* is a derivative of the phallus, the conjectures of Sir John Marshall lose their point. Of the three classes of cult objects discovered in the Indus Valley, the *linga* is to be connected, if at all, with the second group of stones which, even according to Marshall, are not likely to be the representations of the phallus. The archaeologist admits that in mediaeval and modern India it is only very rarely that *lingas* take at all a naturalistic, i.e. the phallic form. 'Ninety-nine percent of them,' he says, 'are so conventionalised that most people would find a difficulty in recognising their phallic character.'¹³ We would only add that there is no need to assume their phallic character.

In the preface to his monumental work, Sir John Marshall has made this wise observation, 'Our task is but just beginning. Fresh materials are coming to light almost daily, and our horizon, therefore, is insensibly changing.

¹¹ *Linga-purāṇa*, iii. 1.

¹² Barth, RI., 262.

¹³ *Mob. Ind.*, I. 60.

In such conditions any approach to finality is out of the question.¹⁴ The position is not much different now from what it was when Marshall wrote these words. For aught we know, Śiva-worship may have prevailed in the Indus Valley alongside the cult of the Mother Goddess. But it must be said that the evidence provided by the figure on the seal is extremely inadequate. And the aniconic cult objects so far discovered do not establish the connection of the *linga* with the phallic cults.¹⁵

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ix.,

¹⁵ A study of the relevant Tamil literature leads to the same conclusion. There is no mention of *linga* and *pitha* (the circular base) in the *Sivajñānabodha*, the basic text of Saivasiddhānta literature. The reference to *linga* as being symbolic of sex in the *Sivajñānasiddhiyār* (supakkam, II. 69) is likely to be a concession to the popular thought identifying *linga* with the sex symbol. Even in the *Siddhiyār* there is another line of thought which defines Śakti as being of the form of *Jñāna* (wisdom) (I.62), and suggests that to the wise it will be evident that Śiva is a bachelor and Śakti a virgin (II. 77). Their activities are in the nature of a play or drama for the benefit of humanity. Śiva's real form is different from all the characteristics popularly attributed to him. He pervades everything without identifying himself with anything (II. 70). In Appar's *Tevāram*, Śiva is referred to as *nadutari* (peg to which cows are tethered) who can be intuited only in one's own heart. It may be suggested that the *linga* is but a peg-like mark or symbol representing Godhead,

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THE ŠIVA-DHARMA

By R C HAZRA

This is a short work still preserved in manuscripts¹. It consists of twelve chapters only and deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of Šiva-worshippers. Like

¹ As this work has not yet been published, our analysis of its contents is based mainly on the palm leaf manuscript No G3852 preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. For a description of this manuscript, which is written in Newari script 'of the twelfth century' A.D. and consists of six different works on Šaivism (viz., Šiva dharmā, Šiva dharmottara, Šiva dharma samgraha, Uma mabesvara samvada, Šivopaniṣad, and Uttarottara tantra), see Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol V, No 4085, pp 723-744.

For other manuscripts of this work see

(i) Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol V, pp 714-715, No 4082 (Ms No G9967 incomplete, containing the sixth chapter only, written on Nepalese paper in Bengali characters, and dated Saka 1563), and pp 718-723, No 4084 (Ms No G4077 written on palm leaf in Newari script, and containing nine different works on Šiva Dharma, of which the first six are the same as those in Ms No G3852 mentioned above, the seventh is the *Vṛṣa sara samgraha*, and the eighth and the ninth are both named *Lalita vistara*)

In Ms No G4077 the eighth work, styled *Lalita vistara*, has a post colophon statement, according to which one 'Kula putra Ratna simha' copied it in 'संवत् १५८' (i.e., Newari year 158=1036 A.D.) during the victorious reign (vijaya rajye) of 'Parama bhattaraka mahārajadhiraja parameśvara śri Laksmikamadeva'

the *Viṣṇu-dharma* it calls itself a 'Śāstra' or 'Dharma-śāstra'² and never a 'Purāṇa', or 'Upapurāṇa', and it has been mentioned as such by the *Bhavisya*³ and the *Saura-purāṇa*,⁴ both of which clearly distinguish it from the Purāṇic works. Yet its name has been included in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except those contained in *Skanda-purāṇa* V. iii

(ii) *Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Adyar Library*, Part I, p. 159, Ms. No. 46 (styled 'Śiva-dharm-opapurāṇa' and written in Grantha script).

(iii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, pp. 128-129, No. 1376 (incomplete, containing the Śānty-adhyāya only; written in Newari script; dated Newari Era 522). See also p. 55.

(iv) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, pp. 272-274, No. 2208 (containing the Śiva-dharma and the Śiva-dharmottara; written in Bengali characters).

(v) A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 138 (written in Grantha characters).

² In most of the chapter-colophons the name 'Śiva-dharma-śāstra' occurs. See also the line :

'uktam ca dvādaśādhyāyam dharmā-śāstram śivātmakam' occurring in Chap. 12 (fol. 39a).

³ The relevant verse of the *Bhavisya-purāṇa* is as follows :

asṭādaśa purāṇāni rāmasya caritāni tathā /
viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata. //

(*Bhavisya-p.*, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., i. 4. 87b-88a).

This verse has been quoted in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 15, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) II. i. pp. 19-20, Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 30, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 22, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (Jīvāṇanda Vidyāsāgara's ed.) I, p. 71, and so on.

The printed edition of the *Bhavisya-p.* reads 'viṣṇu-dharmādayo dharmāḥ' for 'viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi'.

⁴ The relevant verses of the 'Saura-purāṇa', as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 539-540, are the following :

anyāny upa-purāṇāṇi sa-bhiranyāni parvāṇi /
likhitvā yaḥ prayacchet tu sa vidyā-pārago bhavet //
śiva-dharmādi-śāstrāṇi yaḥ prayacchati puṇyadhibhiḥ /
so 'nanta-phalam āpnoti śiva-dharma-prakṛiṣanāt //

These two verses do not occur in the printed editions of the *Saura-p.*

(Revā-khaṇḍa): i. 46-52, *Derī-bhāgarata* i. 3. 13-16, *Vindhya-māhātmya*, Chapter 4, and *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, Chap. 1. On the other hand, Cañdeśvara Thakkura of Mithilā takes it to be a 'Smṛti' work,⁵ the *Rerā-māhātmya* calls it a part of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* and thus looks upon it as a Purāṇic work,⁶ the Vāyaviyasamhitā (ii. 24. 170) of the *Siva-purāṇa* regards it both as a 'Śāstra' and as a 'Purāṇa',⁷ and Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa mentions it as a 'Śāstra' on one occasion and as a 'Purāṇa' on another⁸. From these it is evident that this work began to be recognised as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D., but its original character was not lost sight of at least by a section of people.

That originally the *Sirā-dharma* was not meant for passing as a Purāṇic work, is also shown by its contents, which are given below.

Chap. 1—Salutation to Śambhu in a verse (which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*).

While Nandikeśvara was sitting at ease on the Mount Meru in the midst of a number of sages, Sanatkumāra, son of Brahmā, rose up from among them and requested Nandikeśvara to speak on that excellent Dharma (paramāṇi dhar-
mam), called 'Siva-dharma', which is eternal, easy to perform, and productive of all the ends of life, because, Sanat-

⁵ See Cañdeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, p. 30.

⁶ Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscritorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, p. 65—

caturtham siva-dharmākhyam purāṇe vāyu-samjñītis

(which is one of the lines of the *Rerā-māhātmya* on the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas).

⁷ *Siva-p.*, V (Vāyaviyasamhitā). ii. 24. 170-

śāstram ca siva-dharmākhyam dharmākhyam ca tad-uttaram |

saivākhyam siva-dharmākhyam purāṇam śruti-sammatam ||

⁸ See *Smṛti-candrikā* (Mysore ed.) II, pp. 539 (*sivārcana-phalam tu sivadharma-śāstre darsītam*, etc.) and 553 (*phalam āba purāṇe nandikesvārabḥ*).

kumāra said, the Agniṣṭoma and other Vedic sacrifices, being highly elaborate, expensive and tiresome but of doubtful efficacy, could not be undertaken by people of little resources.⁹ Consequently, Nandikeśvara praised ‘Śiva-dharma’ (religious duty to Śiva), which, he said, was originally spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī, Ṣaṇmukha (the six-faced god Kārttikeya), Nandikeśvara and other gods for the deliverance of those who were steeped in nescience. Nandikeśvara then spoke on the following topics :

Praise of Śiva-worship, by which one may attain heaven (svarga) as well as final emancipation (apavarga). Mention and praise of eight types ('aṣṭāṅgi', 'aṣṭa-vidhā') of Bhakti manifested in loving the devotees of Śiva, encouraging Śiva-worship, personally worshipping the deity, listening to discourses on Śiva, constantly remembering him, and so on.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of honouring them with gifts, etc. Praise of devotion, worship, donation, Homa, knowledge, austerities, etc. meant for the pleasure of Śiva. Devotional service to Śiva always and by all means.

Chap. 2—Going to describe the means of attaining immortality Sanatkumāra speaks on the merits of establishing a Linga of Śiva, constructing a temple for it, cleansing the temple and besmeering it with cow-dung, lustrating the Linga, bathing it with water, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc., offering of ‘argha’ to it, making donations of gold, gems, cows, horses, elephants, servants, cultivable land, village, town, etc., and making all kinds of devotional service to Śiva.

Chap. 3—Sanatkumāra’s narration of the following story of the origin of Linga :

⁹ Śiva-dharma, Chap. 1 (fol. 1b) :

agniṣṭomādayo yajñā babu-vitta-kriyānvitāḥ |
nātyanta-phala-bhūyiṣṭhā bahv-āyāsa-samanvitāḥ ||
na sakyante yataḥ kartum alpa-vittair dvijātibhiḥ ;
sukhopāyam ato brūbi sarva-kām-ārtha-sādhakam ||
hitāya sarva-martyānām śiva-dharmām sanātanam ||

When everything was under the waters of the ocean, there was a quarrel between Brahmā and Viśnu, both of whom claimed agency and lordship of the universe. In order to settle their dispute there appeared between them a great Linga of light (*jyotir-liṅga*), the ends of which neither Brahmā nor Viśnu could discover. As they eulogised this huge Linga, they found in it another small spiritual Linga, only a 'prādeśa' (i. e., the span between the thumb and the forefinger) in length, which was Śiva himself (*śivātmaka*)¹⁰ Śiva (here called Mahādeva) was pleased to grant boons to Brahmā and Viśnu and disappeared after declaring himself to be the cause of the universe. Thence forward Brahmā, Viśnu and others worshipped the Linga, which comprises all gods, Brahmā remaining at its right side, Viśnu at its left, Gāyatrī in its heart, and the Vedas, together with the Angas, on its head.

Results of disregarding a Liṅga. Construction of Liṅgas with different materials (viz., stone, gems, gold, silver, brass, sapphire, bell-metal, earth, crystal, copper, etc.) and the effects derived by gods, Nāgas, Asuras and others by worshipping them, viz., Brahmā became the creator by worshipping a Linga of stone, Indra's position was due to his worship of a Linga of gems, Dhanada became the god of wealth by worshipping a golden Liṅga, the Viśvedevas became so by worshipping a Liṅga of silver, Vāyu worshipped a Linga of brass to attain his position, Viśnu's status was due to his worship of a Linga of sapphire, Buddha attained his supreme knowledge and the state of peace by worshipping a Linga of gold¹¹, Ārhata became a venerable Yogi by worshipping a Linga of topazes¹², and so on.

¹⁰ Śiva dharma, Chap. 3 (fol. 3a)

liṅga madhye param liṅgam sthitam prādeśa sammitam /
samādhi-stotra-sampannau dṛṣṭavantau śivātmakam //
nava tat kāñcanam raspyam tāmram sphatika-mauktikam /
la+mātram sthitam fāntam kevalam tac-chivātmakam //

¹¹⁻¹² Ibid, Chap. 3 (fol. 3b).

buddben ābhyaṛcitam liṅgam jambunadamayam Subham /
tena buddhatvam āpnōti sadā fāntam avasthitam //

Effects and praise of worshipping the Tribhuvaneśvara Liṅga; fateful results of doing otherwise. Results of establishing a Liṅga.

Chap. 4—Characteristics of Śiva-bhaktas (who should be energetic, pious, disregardful of all opposites such as happiness and sorrow, light and darkness, heat and cold, and so on).

Śiva as the best recipient of gifts.. Praise of constructing a Śiva-temple and of sweeping, whitewashing and repairing it annually, of besmearing it with cow-dung, of colouring its pavement, of furnishing it with pictures painted on walls,¹³ and so on.

Praise of Rudra as the highest god, the best knowledge and the best austerities.

Chap. 5—Results and praise of rendering various kinds of service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga; viz; bathing the Liṅga with milk, curd, ghee, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc.; offer of eight kinds of materials of worship (aṣṭāṅgārgha) to it in dishes of gold, silver or some other metal; fanning it with fans made of palm-leaf, peacock-feathers, etc.; worshipping the deity with various kinds of flowers; offer of various articles of food, burning lamps, looking glass, etc.; holding a burning lamp on the head or forehead; saluting by lying prostrate before the Liṅga; eulogy of the god.

Results and praise of lighting series of lamps (dīpa-mālikā) in the month of Kārttika, decorating the Liṅga as well as the temple with flags and banners, sounding drums and various other musical instruments, arranging song and dance, especially of females, before the Liṅga, spreading a

ārbatas tu sadā-kālam puṣpa-liṅg-ārcanāt param /
ten-ārbhattvam avāpnōti yogam cāpi sudurlabham //

¹³ *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fol. 6b) :

kārayec citra-sāstrajñair yatnāc citram sivālaye.

white or coloured canopy¹⁴ over it, constructing with bricks a house for Rudra having the form of the sacred fire, decorating the floor and yard with Svastika, Padma and various other paintings, digging tanks, wells, etc near Śiva-temples, and so on Praise of places of Śiva-worship as being equal to Kuru ksetra, Naimisa and Pushkara

Chap 6—Propitiation (*santi*) of Śiva, Uma, Vinayaka, Mahākāla and many other divine and non divine beings by eulogising them for averting evils In this connection the following deities and others have been described —

Ambikā, Vināyaka (who is said to be a son of Rudra and to have a big belly, a huge body, a bright collyrium-dark complexion, a tusk, the head of an elephant, and a snake as his sacred thread)¹⁵, Mahākala, Viśnu, Brahmanī (who has four faces)¹⁶, Rudrāṇī, Kaumāri, Vaisnavī, Aindri, Varāhi, Camundā and others, the various mother-goddesses (Mātarah, such as Ākāśa-mātarah, Loka-mātarah, Bhūti mātarah, etc), the Ganas living in different directions, the king of gods (i.e., Indra) living in the city of Amarāvatī lying in the east,¹⁷

¹⁴ For description of the canopy see *Ibid*, Chap 5 (fol 11b)

vitanam sita padmābbam madhye padma vibhuṣitam |
vicitram eka varnam va nava vastr ope obbitam ||
kuñkuni ravaṇ opetam candraśat copasobhitari |
lambakat̄ sutra-damais ca ghanta rūta vibbi ṣitam ||
etc etc

¹⁵ *Ibid*, Chap 6 (fol 13 b)

mahodaro mahakayah snigdbāñjana caya echarih ,
eka damṣṭr otkato devo gaja vaktro mahabatah ||
naga yajñ opaviti ca nag abharana bhi ṣitah |
sarvartha sampad adharo gaḥ adhyakṣo vara pradal /
rudrasya tanayo devo nayako tha vinayakah |

¹⁶ *Ibid*, Chap 6 (fol 14a)

padma raga prabha des tatur vadana pamkaya /
aksā mal arpita kara kamandalu dhara ūbba ||
brahma ii saumya vadana Śiva pi ja parayana ||

¹⁷ *Ibid* Chap 6 (fol 15a)

amaravati narta puri pi rva bhage vyavasthita

Agni living in the city of Tejovatī situated in the south-east (āgneye dig-vibhāge); Ananta (i.e., Śeṣa Nāga) living in Vai-vasvatī Purī in the south; Nirṛti, a Rakṣas, living in the city of Kṛṣṇā in the south-west; Varuṇa¹⁸ living in the city of Suddhavatī in the west; Pavana¹⁹ (Wind) living in the city of Gandhavatī in the north-west; Kuvera²⁰ residing in the city of Mahodayā in the north; Īśāna²¹ living in the city of Yaśovatī in the north-east; Sarasvatī, who is said to have a body possessing stainless halo and looking as white as the ray of the autumnal moon ;²² Śrī ; Jayā Devī ; Aparājitā ; the Planets; the Nakṣatras (mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī) ; the Rāśis (zodiacal signs); the sages Kasyapa, Gālava, Gārgya, Viśvāmitra, Manu, Dakṣa, Vasiṣṭha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Pulaha, Kratu, Nārada, Bhṛgu, Ātreya, Bharadvāja, Aṅgiras, Vālmiki, Kauśika, Kaṇṭha, Śākalya, Punarvasu, Śālañkāyana, and others; wives of sages; the Daitya kings (such as Śaṅkukarṇa, Mahājambha, Hayagrīva, Prahlāda, Tāraka and others) who are said to worship Hāṭakesvara-deva regularly; the Nāgas (such as Karkoṭaka, Kulika and, others); the Rivers (such as Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā, Gotamī, Kāverī, Varanā, Devikā, Chandrabhāgā, Godāvari,

¹⁸ For description of Varuṇa see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :

bhadra-mauktika-saṃkāśah paripiṅgala-locaṇah /
śukla-vastra-parīdhānah pāśa-hasto mahābalab //

¹⁹ For description of Pavana see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :

tatra tāmreṇa dehenā kṛṣṇa-piṅgala-locaṇah /
paṭa-vyāpt-antar-ālīno dhvaja-yasṭy-āyudh-odyataḥ //

²⁰ For description of Kuvera see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :

tatra devo gadā-bastaś citra-srag-vastra-bhūṣaṇah /
brasva-bībur mahā-tejāḥ paripiṅgala-locaṇah //

²¹ For description of Īśāna see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :

tatra mauktika-saṃkāśah śaśāṅka-kṛta-bhūṣaṇah /
tri-neṭrah śānta-rūp-ātmā akṣa-mālā-dharo dharah //

Ibid., Chap. 6 (fol. 16a) :

sarac-candr-āṁśu-gaureṇa dehen-āmala-tejasā /
sarasvatī śive bhaktā //

Sarayū, Gandakī, Kausikī, Sarasvatī, Nairātījīnā, Sona, Mandākīnī, etc), the Yaksas (such as Vaisravana, Manibhadra, Suviroma, Pāñcīka, Vibhāndaka, Dhṛtarāstra, Viśupakṣa and others), the Mountains (viz , Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa, Malaya, Gandhamādāna, Śriparvata, Mahendra and Himakūta), the eight Dvīpas including Gomathyo (?), the Oceans, and the Rāksasas, Dākinis, Bhūtas, Piśacas, evil demons (supposed to seize upon children), etc

Praise of this chapter on propitiation (śanti)

Chap 7—Praise of worshipping Śiva in a Linga on particular days (viz , full moon day, new-moon day, the eighth day of the bright half of a month, the thirteenth and fourteenth days of the dark half of a month, and other Parvan days) and in different parts of the day Such worship is said to be more effective than the Agnihotra, Aśvamedha and other sacrifices

Rudra, Brahmā and Visnu—the three Matras of Śiva ²³

Benefits of muttering the sectarian Mantra ‘om namah śivaya’ said to be the six-syllabled ‘Śiva-sūtra’, of which the Bhāsyā was later spoken out by the omniscient and self-born Śiva himself ²⁴

²³ *Ibid* , Chap 7 (fol 21a b)

rudro brahmā baris caiva matrās tisrah prakūrtitab //
dakṣine 'nge 'bhavad brahma baris vamāṅga sambhavab /
bṛdayannigato rudro brahma iṣṇu śivatmakab //
jagat sr̥ṣṭi karo brahnti iṣṇu[r] loka iṣmohakab //
anugrabha karo nitya lilo rudra śivatmakab //
tribhir etair jagad vyaptam karanasr atma karmabbib /
tisro matrab si asyaitab sarva loka prapujitab //
et eva trayo loka eta eva trayo 'gnayab /
trayo gunas trivargas ca yat tanyaj jagati sthitam //

²⁴ *Ibid* , Chap 7 (fol 21b)

sarv artha sadhakam mantram śīja sutram ṣad akṣaram /
bhagyam asy ava si trasya sarvajnena svayambhuva/
paścat paraparānīha vyakt artha gadstani tu//

Praise of devotees of Śiva as being far superior to those who observe celibacy, or regularly study the Vedas, or perform the Agnihotra and other sacrifices, or have mastered all the branches of learning.

Eulogy of Śiva.

Chap. 8—Description and praise of various kinds of devotional service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga, in which all the sacred places and temples of deities are believed to lie hidden.—Bathing of the Liṅga with ghee for a day and night with song, dance, etc.; ceremonious Liṅga-worship during Parvan days; performance of the Car-festival of Śiva; giving to Śiva a vessel of ghee, a copper vessel full of gold (in the Soma-vrata during the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha), a sacred thread (during the full-moon day in the month of Āṣāḍha), a milch cow and a bull, a white bull, and a particular kind of cow called Kapilā (the milk of which a Śūdra is not permitted to drink without initiation to Śiva-worship).²⁵

Praise of cows, which are said to be as sacred as Brahmins and to have emitted the Vedas together with the six ancillary sciences (gobhir vedāḥ samudgirṇāḥ sa-ṣad-angapada-kramāḥ), and in which all the deities and holy places are said to dwell permanently.

Performance of Go-sānti, in which Śiva is invoked to save the cows from mortality.

Gift of horses, elephants, male and female servants, villages, hamlets, towns, land, etc.

Evil consequences of dispossessing one of landed property given to him previously by the disposessor himself or by any other person.

Consequences of taking illegal possession of property belonging to a deity or a Brahmin.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Chap. 8 (fol. 24b):

*kapilāṁ yah pibet chūdrāḥ śīva-saṃskāra-varjitaḥ /
sa prayāti mahāghorām narakām nātra saṃśayaḥ //*

Chap. 9—Description and praise of the Śiva-linga-vrata (which is said to have been performed by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Devī, Skanda and other deities, sages, and leaders of Gaṇas, and which consists of bathing the Linga with water mixed with white sandal paste, placing it on a faultless lotus, worshipping it with white lotuses, Bilva leaves, etc., giving of fine cloth, various kinds of food and other things to it, and praying to it for forgiveness.

Chap. 10—Merits of observing fast and worshipping Śiva with the mention of his different names on the eighth and fourteenth days of both the fortnights during the different months of a year. Such fast is said to yield more merit than that earned by a person performing a long-continued sacrifice (*Satra*) or speaking the truth or visiting holy places or performing the Agnihotra or any other sacrifice.

Description and praise of Nakta-bhojana-vrata, Umā-maheśvara-vrata, Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī-vrata, Śūla-dāna-vrata, Gandha-vrata, Śaiva-mahāvrata, Kailāsa-vrata, and Śivarratha-vrata.

Construction of earthen, wooden, stone or brick temples for Śiva and furnishing them with all requisites. Ten cows and an ox, bed, and other things are to be given to Śiva on these and other occasions.

Chap. 11—Nandikeśvara's statement that the 'Śiva-dharma', declared by Śiva, is meant for yielding all the ends of life (including final emancipation) to those females and members of the four castes, who resort to the 'Śivāśrama' (stage of life in which Śiva is worshipped with all seriousness).

Construction of an ideal hermitage for Śiva-worship, which is to have a beautiful flower-garden on its north as well as a fire-sanctuary (*agnyāgāra*) and a guest-house for devotees of Śiva (*śivabhaktābhyaṅgatālaya*).

Absence of hiṃsā in plucking flowers for Śiva-worship.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of rendering service to them when they are tired, ill or otherwise. Praise of making gifts of necessary things to Śiva-bhaktas.

Denouncement of anger, and praise of tolerance (*kṣamā*), *ahimsā*, truth, non-stealing, etc.

Chap. 12—Nandikesvara's enumeration of the various duties of the devotees of Śiva; praise of worshipping a long-neglected Linga without accepting anything; respect to be shown to Śiva-lingas, to Śiva-yogins, and to the flowers, garlands, etc. offered to Śiva; praise of gift of clothes, making of gardens, digging of wells, etc.; praise of feeding Śiva-worshipping Brahmins in Śrāddha and other ceremonies for the pleasure of Śiva; praise of Śiva-bhaktas (who are said to be much superior to Veda-knowing Brahmins), Śiva-yogins, Rudrākṣas and Śiva-dharma.

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²⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap 11, fol 36b

esa dharma drumab śriman asta sakhab śivodbhavab

²⁷ See, for instance, the colophons (*iti siva dharmā sastre nandi kesvara proktayam samhitayam adhyayab*) of Chaps 3 and 4 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms No G 3852

²⁸ *Śiva dharma*, Chap 10, fol 30a

tan nirvedac ca vairagyam vairagya jnana sambhavab //

jñanat pravartate yogo yogad duhkhanam apnuyat //

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap 1, fol 2a

bhaktir asta viddha [ca]sa yasmin mlecche 'pi vardhate /

sa viprendro munib śriman sa yatis sa ca panditah //

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of rendering service to them when they are tired, ill or otherwisc. Praise of making gifts of necessary things to Śiva-bhaktas.

Denouncement of anger, and praise of tolerance (ksamā), ahimsā, truth, non-stealing, etc.

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²⁶ *Ibid.*, Chap. 11, fol. 36b

esa dharma drumab śriman aṣṭa sakhab śivodbhavab

²⁷ See, for instance, the colophons (*iti siva dharma fastre nandi kesvara proktayam sambhitayam adhyayah*) of Chaps 3 and 4 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms No G 3852

²⁸ *Śiva dharma*, Chap. 10, fol. 30a

tan nirvedac ca vairagyam vairag्यज्ञनां sambhavab //

jñānat pravartate yogo yogad dubhantam apnuyat //

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 1, fol. 2a

bhaktir aṣṭa vidha [ca]sa yasmin mlecche 'pi vardhate /

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²⁷ See, for instance, the colophons (*iti śiva dharma sastre nandi kesvara proktayam sambitajam adhyayah*) of Chaps 3 and 4 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms No G 3852

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jñanat pravartate yogo yogad dubkhantam apnuyat //*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Chap 1, fol 2a

*bhaktir asta uḍha [eai]ṣa yasmin mleccbe 'pi vardhate /
sa vīprendro munib śriman sa yath sa ea panditab //*

Śvetāśvataro-npaniṣad by the Śiva-worshippers. On the other hand, on one occasion a Śiva-worshipper has been called ‘Māheśvara’,³⁰ and on another a ‘devotee of Maheśvara’ has been praised. The sectarian Mantra of six syllables (viz., om namah śivāya) has been called a six-syllabled Śiva-sūtra, the Bhāṣya of which is said to have been spoken out later by the all-knowing Self-born Being (Svayambhū).³¹ The word ‘vāmācāra’, used twice with respect to Śiva,³² need not be taken to connect the Śaivism professed by the present work with the Left-hand school of the Tantriks. This word simply means ‘one of perverse activities’, and nothing more.

We have already adduced reasons to show that the *Śiva-dharma*, originally a ‘Śāstra’, began to be looked upon as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D. This early date of the work can be supported by various other evidences, some of which are noted below. There are inscriptional evidences which show that in South India the *Śiva-dharma* was often recited for popular instruction during the reign of the Colas from 1070 to 1279 A.D.³³ In the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Newari Ms. containing six different works including the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*, and this Ms. is dated by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri in ‘the twelfth century’ A. D. from the nature of its script. In the same Library there is another Newari Ms.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. 11, fol. 34b :

sudūram api gantavyam yatra māheśvaro janah.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Chap. 7, fol. 21b. For the relevant lines see foot-note 24 above.

³² *Ibid.*, Chap. 4, fol. 6b :

*vāmāya vāma-rūpāya vāmācārāya bhāvine/
vāma-kāntārdha-dehāya anantāya namo'stu tell/*

Also Chap. 10, fol. 28a :

*sarva-velām atikramya naktam nūtama-bhojanam/
vāmācāro mahādevo naktenoddharate narān//*

³³ See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, II. i. p. 481.

containing nine different works (including the *Swa dharma* and the *Siva-dharmottara*), the eighth of which, called *Lalitavistara*, has a post-colophon statement which informs us that it was copied in the Nepali Samvat 156 (=1036 A.D.) during the reign of Laksmikāma-deva³⁴ The *Siva dharma* has been mentioned in Candeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (p 30) as well as in the *Siva-purāṇa* (*Vāyaviya samhitā* II 24 170)³⁵ and the 'Saura-purāṇa' as known to Hemādri³⁶, and its name has been included in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Brhaddharma-purāṇa*, *Parāśara upapurāṇa*, etc³⁷ A good number of verses of this work has been quoted in Nīlakantha's *Ācāra mayūkha*, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa's *Tantra sāra*, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin's *Nityācara pradīpa*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Kṛtya cintāmani*, Rudradhara's *Varsa kṛtya*, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's *Gangā-vākyāvalī*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga cintāmani*, Devanabhatta's *Smṛti-candrikā*, and so on, and most of these quoted verses are found in the present text of the *Siva dharma* (see Appendix I) So, the *Swa-dharma* must be dated earlier than 800 A.D. We shall show on another occasion that the *Siva dharmottara* was composed later than the *Siva dharma* but earlier than 800 A.D. So, the *Siva-dharma* can by no means be dated later than 700 A.D. The facts that the *Bhavisya-purāṇa*³⁸ mentions the *Siva dharma* in

³⁴ See foot note 1 above

³⁵ The *Vayaviya samhita* of the *Siva purāṇa* has also incorporated verses of the *Siva dharma*. For instance, the verse 'linga vedi bhaved devi,' which is ascribed to the *Siva dharma* in Raghunandana's *Smṛti tattva* I, p 132 and which occurs in Chap 5 of the present text of the *Sivadharma*, is the same as *Siva purāṇa*, *Vayaviya Samhita*, II 27 13.

³⁶ For the relevant verses of the *Saura purāṇa*, as quoted in Hema dī's *Caturvarga cintamani* I, pp 539-540, see foot note 4 above

³⁷ For these lists see my article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXI, 1940, pp 38ff

³⁸ For the date of the original chapters of the Brahma Parvan of the printed *Bhavisya purāṇa* see R. C. Hazra, *Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp 170-172.

one of its original chapters and that the Nakṣatras have been mentioned in the latter work in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharanī³⁹ tend to indicate that the Śiva-dharma was composed earlier than 550 A. D. From the mention of the Buddha and the Ārhata as worshipping Śiva-lingas⁴⁰ and of the names of the zodiacal signs⁴¹ (rāsi) it appears that the Śiva-dharma was written later than the Yājñavalkya-smṛti. So, this work is to be dated between 200 and 500 A.D.; and this early origin of the work explains why it is totally free from Tantric influence.

The opening verse (*namas tūṅga-sīras-cumbi*, etc.) of our Ms., which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*, need not be taken to go against the above date of the Śiva-dharma. This verse, which does not occur in all MSS. of the Śiva-dharma, might have been added to it sometime between 650 and 1000 A. D.

It is difficult to say anything definitely about the provenance of the Śiva-dharma. From the mention of the names of mountains, rivers and holy places mostly belonging to Northern India it appears that this work was composed somewhere in that part of the country. The occurrence of the text of the Śiva-dharma mostly in Newari MSS. or on Nepalese paper and the mention of the Devikā, a small river in South-

³⁹ See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6, fol. 16b-17a.

It is to be noted that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharanī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A. D. that we find in the *Brhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira the new order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvini to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it is highly probable that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A. D.

⁴⁰ For the relevant verses of the Śiva-dharma see foot-notes 11-12 above.

⁴¹ See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6 (fol. 17a).

The familiarity of ancient people with the Tithis, Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term 'rāsi' in all early works down to the time of the Yājñavalkya-smṛti, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāśis earlier than the second century A. D.

ern Kashmir, and of the *Candrabhāgā* as a highly sacred river,⁴² seem to point to Southern Kashmir or the Northern Punjab as the place of origin of the *Śiva-dharma*.⁴³

The similarity between the names of the *Śiva dharma* and the *Śiva dharmottara* has sometimes confused the Smṛti-writers in quoting verses from the one or the other. In his *Caturvarga cintāmani* I, p. 467, II 11, p. 396 and II 11, pp. 887-889 Hemādri wrongly ascribes to the *Śiva-dharmottara* three extracts of 3, 6 and 37 verses on 'vṛṣabhbhādhika-gosata dāna', Umā-maheśvara vrata and Śiva-linga-vrata respectively which really occur in *Śiva dharma*, Chaps. 10 and 9. The verse

"*samskrtaś prākṛtaś vakyair yah sisyam anurupatabh/
desa bhāsādy upāyaś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtab*" //,

which really belongs to *Śiva dharmottara*, Chap. 2, has been wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmani* III 1, p. 353 and Raghunandana's *Smṛti tattva* I, p. 657.

An examination of the extracts and verses quoted in different works from the *Śiva dharma*, shows that there has not been any serious change in the text of this work at least for a long time. Besides a few isolated verses mostly on Linga-worship, there is a long extract of 69 metrical lines on Mauna-vrata (Vow of Silence), which, though spoken out by Nandikesvara and ascribed to the *Śiva dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga cintāmani* II 11, pp. 879-883, is not found in the present *Śiva dharma*. But the number of such untraceable verses is rather small in comparison with that of the traceable ones. *

⁴² *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 18a)

⁴³ In my article on the *Vishnu dharmottara*, published in *Journal of the University of Gaubati* III, 1952, pp. 39-64, I have shown that this work was composed either in Southern Kashmir or in the northern most part of the Punjab.

APPENDIX I

VERSES ASCRIBED TO THE *SIVA-DHARMA*
OR *SIVA-DHARMA-SĀSTRA*

1. In *Smṛti-candrikā* (of Devaṇabhaṭṭa) In *Siva-dharma*
- ii, p. 539 .. Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).
 - p. 553 ... Chap. 7 (same 2 verses as mentioned above).
 - pp. 553-561 ... Chap. 5 (74 verses on fols. 7a-11a).
2. In *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (of Hemādri) In *Siva-dharma*
- I, p. 467 ... Chap. 10 (2 verses on fol. 33a).
 - pp. 508-9 ... Chap. 8 (17 metrical lines on fol. 26a).
 - p. 593 Chap. 8 (1 verse on fol. 26a).
 - pp. 637-8 .. Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 26a).
 - p. 915 Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 32b).
 - II. i, p. 235 .. Chap. 5 (5 verses on fol. 7b). Of the 7 verses quoted by Hemādri, the last two (from 'payo-dadhi-ghṛta etc.'), are not found in the *Siva-dharma*.
 - pp. 235-6 .. Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 8a).
 - II. ii, p. 154 ... Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 30b).
 - pp. 240-241 ... Chap. 8 (9 metrical lines on fol. 24a).
 - p. 241 ... Chap. 10 (3 verses on fol. 30b).
 - pp. 252-3 ... Chap. 10 (5 verses on fol. 30b).
 - p. 395 ... Chap. 10 (10 verses on fols. 29b-30a).
 - p. 843 ... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b).
 - pp. 848-853 ... Chap. 10 (105 metrical lines on fols. 30b-32b).

pp. 887-9 ... Chap. 9 (37 lines on Śiva-liṅga-vrata (wrongly ascribed to on fols. 26b-27a).
the *Siva-dharmottara*)

pp. 911-912 ... Chap. 8 (6 verses on fol. 23a-b).

pp. 1030-31 ... Chap. 8 (12 verses on fol. 25b).

III. ii, pp. 881-2 ... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b).

3. In Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* (ed. V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay)

In *Siva-dharma*

I i, pp. 375-6 ... Chap. 7 (1 verse on fol. 20b). The second quoted verse (sakṛt pūjāyate yaś tu) is not found in the *Siva-dharma*.

4. In *Gangāvākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya, Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. Smṛti-117)

In *Siva-dharma*

fol. 25a-bcf. ... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 12b).

fol. 47a ... Chap. 8 (2 verses on fol. 24b).

5. In *Varṣa-Kṛtya* (of Rudradhara)

In *Siva-dharma*

p. 151 ... Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).

6. In *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana)

In *Siva-dharma*

I. p. 132 ... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 10a).

7. In *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nilakantha, ed. Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay)

In *Siva-dharma*

p. 96 ... Chap. 5 (1 verse 'liṅgānulepanam, etc.' on fol. 8b).

The other two quoted verses are not found in the *Siva-dharma*.

p. 97 ... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 10a).

Verses from the *Siva-dharma* have also been quoted in the following works :

Mitra Miśra's *Viramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares), *Paribhāṣā-prakāṣa*, p. 114.

Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), II, p. 543; III, pp. 188, 236, 386, 440-2, 446.

APPENDIX II.

The verses ascribed to the '*Siva-dharma*' in the following works are not found in the present *Siva-dharma*:

- (1) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 44, 109; II. i, p. 44; II. ii, pp. 879-883 (on Mauna-yrata).
- (2) Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. i, p. 190.
- (3) *Gangāvākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya), fols. 25b, 47a, 47b.
- (4) *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi* (of Vācaspati Miśra), p. 46.
- (5) *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (of Narasimha Vājapeyin), p. 138.
- (6) *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghuṇandana), I, pp. 129-130, 131, 407.
- (7) *Tantra-sāra* (of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa) I, p. 46.
- (8) *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nīlakanṭha), p. 94.

Supplement to the Madras University Journal

The Origin of Saivism and Its History in the Tamil Land

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THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND

BY

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PART I — THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF PHALLIC WORSHIP

CHAPTER I THE NĀGAS

In this chapter, it is argued from quasi historical and historical sources that the Nāgas were a widespread people in Ancient India

SECTION A THE NAME 'NĀGA'

The Naga of Legend

Nāga is a Sanskrit word meaning snake. It is also used by Sanskrit writers to designate a class of superhuman beings—who may be called 'soake-men' as their bodies are half human and half snake. They can change their shapes at will. They possess plenty of wealth. Their women are very beautiful. Their cities are magnificent. Eternal enjoyment is the characteristic feature of their life. This curious people live in the other regions, i.e., beneath the earth. Instances are not wanting however, where the Nāgas are classified among the *Ganas* to *Suarga* attending on the Gods. Side by side with these legendary notions, the *Paurānikas* give us facts of the existence and kingdoms of human Nagas on *terra firma*. Divested of strange attributes, they are men like any of us.

Naga means Hill and Tree

If the legendary Nagas were so called because they lived beneath the earth, how did the human Nāgas acquire the appellation? It is difficult to answer definitely. Naga means hill. Since we read of *Dasyu* hill-forts in the *Vēdas*, some of the people of Ancient India must have lived on hills and in hill-caves. These habitats might have given rise to the name Naga. Naga also means tree. Our country was full of forests in those days and their denizens might have been called Naga by an extension of the word from the shelter to the sheltered. The enemies of the Aryans and Āryan sacrifices came as if from beneath the earth and swooped on the



Asrams and disturbed the *Rishis*. These evil-doers issued from the impenetrable forests of *Dandaka* as snakes dart out of their holes.

Nagna means Naked

Another explanation of the word *Nāga* is possible if it can be derived from *Nagna* which means naked. *Manimekalai* speaks of the naked and cannibalistic *Nāgas* of the Nicobārs. In fact, the ancients were naked at first. Then they became semi-naked. Covering the upper part of the body is not ancient. Even kings and queens were sculptured in early times naked above the waist. Till late in the nineteenth century, most of the aborigines of Bastar were stark naked. Men and women of most of the jungle tribes are still nude to the waist.

Naga Totem and Cult

A more likely explanation of the name may be found in the cult of *Tree and Serpent worship*. This cult seems to have been widespread in Ancient India. But it must be said here and at once that this is a universal primitive cult.¹ The superstitions concerning the snake actuated by fear, or any other feeling or by its mysterious ways, weighed heavily on the minds of all the ancients.

So the term *Nāga* must have had primarily a totemistic significance. McLennan has shown that the primitive society was a network of totems each of which had an emblem. Obviously the *Nāga* totem in India had a large population spreading in all directions. The mention of the *Gajas* (elephants) and the *Garudas* (eagles)² as separate peoples in the *Purānas* tends to confirm this conclusion. These peoples revered and worshipped the symbols of their totems. Thus the Nagas would float the *Nāga* banner when they went to war or rejoiced in peace. They would not harm a snake and would even entertain the fond belief that the snake too would not harm them !

SECTION B. NORTHERN INDIA

There is no place in India without its *Nāga* stories. Let us survey some of these relics before digging for indisputable historical facts.

The Vēdas

The *Vēdas* are the oldest literature of India. They describe the antagonism between the Āryans and the Dasyus. This spirit of hostility continues to be portrayed in later Brahminical literature. Whether the difference between the two parties was ethnic, linguistic

¹ Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xi, pp. 399-423.

² The war between the *Garudas* and the *Nāgas* is proverbial. One of the names of Garuda is *Kiratāśin*. The war between the Guptas and the *Nāgas* may be explained as a phase of the traditional conflict. The rivalry between Vishnu and Siva may be similarly explained.

Note—In the following pages *Nāga* has to

or cultural the latter viz the Dasyus are associated with serpents¹ One of the greatest foes of Indra was Vritra And in a few passages Vritra is spoken of as *Ahi* This famous Dasyu leader was the son of Danu This Danava was the head of the Kalakeyas according to the *Mahābhārata*² Serpents are referred to as foes of Indra and the *Dēvas* in a few other passages Arhuda was another serpent enemy of Indra While writers are not wanting who explain away the references to serpents as mere imagery there are others who interpret the *Sisnadevas* of the Dasyus as serpent deities Indeed one learned writer C V Vaidya³ goes to the extent of ingeniously identifying the Dasyus with the Nagas

The Purānas

The nether world is divided into seven regions by the *Purānas* of which the first four were occupied by the Daityas and the Danavas and the rest by the Naga. The lowest region was Patala a delightful account of which is given by Narada in the *Vishnu Purāna*⁴ According to another division by the *Purānas*⁵ and the *Mahābhārata* India contained nine parts Of them the Western was the Naga Virupaksha the Naga demigod was the guardian of that quarter Alheruni in quoting this division added that Naga was south western Be that as it may one division of India was Naga

Patala

So we must look for Patala in the South West or West of India In the story of Jimutavahana⁶ Gokarna is placed at the entrance to Patala We shall refer later on to the interesting Naga associations with Kanara and Malabar The location of this blessed region of music and damsels is not however easy For the mouth of the Indus the mouth of the Ganges Assam the valley of the Narmada Ceylon and further South have been called Patala now and then

At the mouth of the Indus Alexander found a port named Patala According to *Rājatarangini*,⁷ a Kashmir king entered the cave of Namuchi after crossing the Chinab and became king of Patala In the story of the Sagaratputras for whom the Ganges descended from the heavens Patala is placed at the mouth of the sacred river Assam was the Nagaloka of Ulupi the Naga princess who married Arjuna in his banishment It was also the *Naraka* of Narakasura a

¹ Quoted from Oldham *The Sun and Serpent* pp 39 35

Rig Veda i 32 5 8 52 10 *Ahi*-Vritra

i 61 8 i 80 1 i 103 7 *Ahi* as enemy of *Dēva* or *Arya*

i 51 6 i 11 20 ii 14 4 viii 3 19 Arbuda a serpent enemy of Indra

ii 11 18 *Sama Veda* ii 5 22 Vritra son of Danu

Read also Muir *Original Sanskrit Texts* iv pp 408-410 and Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent*

² *Udyoga* and *Vana* (*Tirthayātra*)

³ Quoted by Hiralal in *Maharaja's College Magazine* Vizianagram vol v part 1

See also Va dyo *Mediaeval India* vol 1 p 82

⁴ Vogel *Indian Serpent Lore* Introduction p 31

⁵ Majumdar *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India* App 1

⁶ Vogel *ante* ch iv p 179 ⁷ Trans by Stein, ii stanzas 468-470

mighty monarch and the great ancestor of the Assam kings according to seventh century inscriptions.¹ Ptolemy calls the people round Sylhet the *Nangalagai* or the naked people. The Naga tribes and the Naga hills of Assam are reminiscent of these ancient traditions.

The Epics

The Epics refer to Bhogavati as the abode of the Nāgas. The *Rāmāyana*² speaks of it as the city of Daityas and serpents under the rule of Vāsuki. The directions of Sugriva and the conquests of Rāvana the Rākshasa king of Ceylon contain a vivid account of the powerful Nāgas living in walled towns full of palaces and towers. Hiralāl³ locates Bhogavati at Rāmtik in Nāgpur District. With this location, the legend of the city being situated in Pātāla quite fits in as this tract of country lies just below the high tableland of the Satpuras.'

Some more Nāga Kingdoms

These children of Kadru, the Nāgas were the sons of earth in a real sense as they lived under it according to legends. One of them Sēsha, a demi-god and a sound Sanskrit scholar, was the great support of his mother! Every one knows that there is water beneath the earth. So the epic writer gets round the difficulty of locating the land of perfumes and beauties in water by saying that the ocean was the abode of the Nāgas. The Hindu story-writers are painfully at variance with regard to the location of Pātāla or Nāgaloka. When they wrote that it was beneath the earth, they meant that it was in some generally unknown and inaccessible part of the south. With the extension of geographical knowledge, their imaginary or fantastic Pātāla was shifted further and further south. At the same time, they did recognize the existence of Nagas by their side organized into kingdoms or republics. But the latter were not the Purānic Nagas with quaint features!

The *Mahābhārata*⁴ speaks of the ocean as the abode of the Nagas in general and does not give any particulars. We shall see later on that there were many Nāga islands near and away from India which kept up and improved the maritime, commercial and colonial activities of the mainland. The great Epic is not silent about the land kingdoms of the Nagas. Already, Bhogavati and Manipur of Ulūpi⁵ have been mentioned. Besides, in and round Indraprastha was a Naga region. The destruction of Khāndava forest⁶ and the expulsion of the natives of the place preceded the foundation of the glorious city of Indraprastha on the spot by the Pāndava brothers. In the great war, the Nagas who swarmed from the frontier fought hard and revengefully on the side of Duryōdhana who came to be known as Nāgadhwaja. The aftermath of this war was so bad that

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, voi. xii, p. 71; xv, p. 5.

² Trans. by M. N. Dutt, pp. 813, 1626. See also *M. B.*, trans. by M. N. Dutt, *Udyoga*, ch. 103.

³ *Maharaja's College Magazine*, vol. v, part I. See also Vogel, *ante*, ch. v, p. 201.

⁴ *Ādi.*, xxi. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cccxxiv.

⁶ *Ibid.*, trans. by M. N. Dutt.

the Pāndava-Naga rivalry continued till a Naga king of Takshasila killed by trickery Parikshit the Great of the lunar race. This final attempt at supremacy fanned the smouldering embers and Janamejaya the son of Parikshit evidently fought with his enemies, took hundreds of them as captives and quenched the flame of his passion by burning them alive in the well known Sarpa-Yāga.¹ Also, did not the wicked Nagas steal away the jewels of Uttanka the devoted scholar on the banks of the Ganges? Worthier causes have not stimulated any war in history. But, Janamejaya had to contend against the Nagas on two sides. According to Uttanka, there were many Naga dwellings to the north of the Ganges, i.e., to the east of the Pandava capital. This great holocaust paralysed the Nagas. But it was only for a time. For, we shall see in due course how they revived once at least in the historical period, just before the rise of the Guptas. With remarkable fecundity, they bred and flourished again. And they have not died out till now.

Buddhist Stories

Buddhist literature tells more about the Nāgas. From the stories of Buddha we learn that the conversion of the Nagas was his great work. Undoubtedly Buddhism had greater success than Aryanism in elevating the Nagas. Buddha is associated with the Nāgas of even such distant places as Puhat of the Chola country.² Besides learning from this literature that the Nagas were spread throughout India, we get the information that the Nāgas were an inferior people and cursed their evil *karma*. What is more, one of the *Jatakas* throws out a hint about the loose morals of the Nagas.³

The N. W. Naga Kingdoms

There was a cluster of Nāga kingdoms in the north-west of India. Gīndhāra (Kandahar) was one. Kashmir was another. The *Jataka*⁴ which mentions the two kingdoms makes Takshasila the Naga capital. The latter city so well known in the great Epic was the seat of King Lāpatra who travelled all the way to Sārnath to hear the Teacher and was converted after a vigorous controversy.⁵ Two more Nāgarājas Gōpāla of the Kabul valley and Apala of the Swat valley were converted by Buddha according to Hīmen Tsāng.⁶ The latter⁷ tells the story of a Sākyā youth who became King of Udyāna (the Swat valley) by marrying a Naga Princess. The pilgrim adds that the Naga chiefs of those parts were conquered by Kanishka with some difficulty.

The Gangetic Kingdoms

Turning now to the Gangetic valley, we meet with a number of Naga kings. Two of them are located at the foot of Mount

¹ *Adt*, iii

² Trans. by Cowell, v, p 85

³ Vogel, *ante*, ch 2

⁴ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i, pp 93, 122, 128

⁵ *Ibid*

⁶ *Akitta Jataka*

⁷ *Ibid* iii p 229

Daddura¹ in the Himālayas and in Kosāmbī² by the *Jātakas*. Hiuen Tsāng writes that near Ahichchatra (= serpent-umbrella) Buddha preached for seven days and converted its Nāga King.³ Near Kosāmbī, Buddha subdued another Nāga king.⁴ Magadha the first scene of Buddha's activities has many Nāga stories. Nāgas Svastika and Manināga belonged to this kingdom.⁵ Muchilinda the Nāgarāja who sheltered the Buddha under the *Bodhi* tree, and Nāgarāja Kala who predicted Buddha's enlightenment were natives of Magadha.⁶ The Naga of Urvila⁷ on the Naga river was converted after the first sermon. Between Rājagrīha and Sravasti, a bridge was built on the Ganges by the Nāgas for Buddha.⁸ Nālanda famous later as a university was named after a Naga.⁹

Buddha and the Nagas

In kingdoms like Magadha which were outside the Āryan pale for long and which followed the Asura customs even with regard to the shape of the burial mounds, the new religion rapidly spread its way. The Sisunāga¹⁰ contemporaries of Buddha embraced the new religion. The Nāgas became friendly to Sākyasimha, adopted his faith, shared his relics and guarded his stupas. The eternal evidence for their conversion was the cobra hood over Buddha images. Buddhist relic worship had its origin in the Nāga ancestor-worship. Ancestor-worship, Serpent-cult and Saiva religion appear to have been mixed up in Buddha's time.

At birth, Buddha was bathed by two dragons. According to tradition which is confirmed by archæology¹¹, Buddha was first a worshipper of Siva. In the excavations at Kapilavastu, golden nāga figures were found.¹² A golden nāga was found in a tomb of Mahānāman the Sākya ruler after Buddha's father.

In the Sunlight of History

When we pass from Purānic to historical literature, we pass as it were from moonlight into sunlight. The features of men and institutions become clearer and we can speak of them with certainty. We shall divide our study under three heads (*a*) The Indus region, (*b*) The Jumna-Gangetic region, and (*c*) Central India.

The curtain lifts at Mohenjo Daro¹³ where Dr. Marshall has excavated remains of about 3000 B.C. A devotee with a Naga hood over his head indicating his Nāga lineage has been unearthed there. It would be unsafe to build on this slender evidence but for confirmatory evidences about the Nāgas of this region from Brahmanical and Buddhist literatures which have been

¹ *Ante*, iii. 11.

² *Ante*, i. 206.

³ Beal, *ante*, i. 200.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 237.

⁵ Vogel, *ante*, ch. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ch. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Vogel, *ante*, ch. 2.

⁹ Beal, *ante*, ii. 167

¹⁰ For the view that they and the Nandas were Nāgas see Fergusson *Tree and Serp. Worship*, pp. 63-4.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 3.

¹² *Arch. Sur. of India*. A Report on a tour of exploration of the antiquities in Nepal Tarai, 1899, pp. 3, 26-27.

¹³ *Arch. Sur. of India, Annual Report*, 1924-5, p. 61. Also p. 4, Memoir No. 31, *Arch. Survey of India*.

abstracted above. The Takhis and the Vāhlas or Bāhlikas were the two large tribes that we must study in this region. The Kathes met by Alexander¹ at Taxila gave the name Kathiawār. Colonel Tod concludes that they were also called Takhis and were of the race of Takshaka.² There are references to the Nagas in the inscriptions of the Gurjara chief Dadda I who ruled near Kaira and Broach (fifth century A.D.)³ and the Gupta King Skandagupta⁴ who has left an inscription in Junagādh.

The Takhis and the Bāhlikas

Closely related to the Takhis were the Vāhlas or Bāhlikas lords of the Indus valley. The *Mahabharata*⁵ includes the Madras as a branch of the Bāhlikas whose capital was Sialkōt. Among them, property descended in the female line as among the Newārs and the Arattas. In the third century A.D., the period of disintegration in India, the *Puranas* say that three Bāhlikas ruled as independent kings for thirty years.⁶

Kashmir

By the way, it may be mentioned that after Aravalo the Naga king of Kashmir and contemporary of Asoka according to the *Mahawamsa*,⁷ we do not read of Naga kings as such in its annals till the Kārkōtas.⁸ But at every turn in that country there are Naga traditions and reliques of the Naga cult.⁹

Naga Supremacy

Mention has already been made of Bāhlika independence. An unidentified Chandra of the Mehruli pillar inscription,¹⁰ is said to have defeated the Bāhlikas among others and established his sovereignty over Northern India. This Chandra could not have ruled after Samudragupta who extended his rule over the bulk of Northern India. So, somewhere between the fall of the Kushānas and the rise of the Guptas to supremacy under Sanudragupta i.e., roughly, in the third century A.D. we find a number of Nāga chiefs ruling in the Jumna-Gangetic valley.

Some Light on a Dark Period

At the end of the third century A.D., the *Puranas* say, the valiant Visvasphani (Nāga?) of the Māgadhas will be emperor of India.¹¹ The Bhāgavata locates his capital at Padmāvatī.¹² Early in the

¹ Oldham, *ante*, p. 113.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. i, p. 702.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, ii, p. 313.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218n. See also *Gupta Ins.*, p. 62.

⁵ *Karna*, ch. 37-38; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 316.

⁶ Pargiter, *ante*, p. 73.

⁷ Gelger, p. 82.

⁸ Vaidya, *Medieval Hindu India*, vol. i, p. 202.

⁹ Vogel, 231.

¹⁰ *Gupta Ins.* For a discussion about Chaodra see A. V. V. Iyer's lectures, *The Hindu*, 13th and 24th February, 1928.

¹¹ Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 73.

¹² Tārānātha (seventeenth century A.D.) describes a family of Chandras who became rulers of Magadha from their home Aparāntaka. Of them Phani Chandra and Hamsa Chandra were powerful. A generation after the latter

fourth century there will rule nine Nāga kings at Champāvati or Padmāvati and seven at Mathura.¹

From the Gupta inscriptions we may infer that even during the fourth century A.D. there were many small Naga kingdoms in this region. They had to be subdued by the Guptas as the Nāgas of the Deccan had to be brought round by war or marriage by the Pallavas a century before. The Naga contemporaries and foes of the Guptas belonged to the semi-independent tribes in the later Gupta empire on its western frontier.

Naga Chiefs everywhere

In the early Gupta period, there was Mahēsvara Naga² son of Nagabhatta. Nagasēna, Ganapati Naga and Nagadatta were conquered by Samudragupta. Before starting on his *digvijaya*, Samudragupta had to face at Puspa (Kanauj?) the combined attack of Achyuta (of Ahichchatra), Nāgasena and an unknown king of the Kōta family.³ Probably these were neighbouring Nāga chiefs who confederated to deal a deadly blow to the rising new power. In the subsequent list of his conquests in Āryāvarta occur Chandravarma, Ganapatināga, Nāgasēna, Achyuta and others the last two evidently the same as those who attacked Puspa. Bhavanāga, another Naga king of the Gangetic valley gave his daughter in marriage to Gautamiputra Vākātaka, son of Pravarasena I. The Bhārasivas to which Bhavanāga belonged are said to be represented by the Bhār Rajputs. They were a powerful family as they are said to have celebrated many *Asvamedhas*.⁴ Kuberanaga⁵ a Naga princess is said to have been married by Chandragupta II and their daughter Prabhāvati was given in marriage to Rudrasena II Vākātaka, great-grandson of Gautamiputra. It is evident from the Naga marriage alliances with the Vākātaka and Gupta families that the Nagas were no small factors in the recent past and in contemporary politics. In Skandagupta's reign, Sarvanāga was the *Vishayapati* or governor of Antarvēdi, i.e., between the Ganges and the Jumna.⁶

Mention has been made previously of the Nagas of Mathura and Padmāvati (25 miles from Narwar). That the former was a big Naga centre from still earlier times can be amply proved from the Brahmi inscriptions which give plenty of Naga names largely of the *Koliya gana*. A few of the Padmāvati coins⁷ with a humped bull on one side have been discovered and they evidently belong to the local Naga chiefs. The Bull mark on these coins and the name *Bhārasivas* throw some light on the cult of the Naga kings.

came Chandragupta. The problems of Chandra and the true extent of Samudragupta's conquests require further investigation. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv, p. 363; Vidyabushan, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 252 f. n.

¹ Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 73.

² *Gupta Ins.*, p. 283.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13. Did the Kōta family belong to Nagarkot or Kārkōta Nagar, 75 miles from the borders of the Indore State. *Eph. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 289; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiv, p. 45.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xii, p. 241.

⁵ *Eph. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 39.

⁶ *Gupta Ins.*, No. 16.

⁷ *Rapson's Coins*, pt. v., No. 2. Also *Arch. Surv. of India, Rep.*, 1914-15, part I, p. 21; 1915-16, p. 101.

Central India—The Kilakilas

Central India contains the old and noteworthy Buddhist monuments of Bharut and Sanchi. They, as usual with others of their kind, contain many Nāga names. The *Puranas* speak of the Kilakila kings before Vindhyaśakti the first Vakataka.¹ We do not know if we have to look for the Kalikeyas of the Mahābhūrata in the Kilakilas and the Kālatoṣakas of the early fourth century A.D. Curiously, the *Vishnu Purana* calls Vindhyaśakti² himself a Kilakila though we do not have any further evidence as to his Naga origin.

The Dynasty of Vidisa and the Manidhanyas

A dynasty of Vidisa came to fame just after the rise of the Vākatakas. At this time it is very difficult to synchronise the rulers of the *Puranic* dynasties at a particular period. It is however the first axiom of a *Puranic* critic that the *Puranas* speak of contemporary dynasties as if they were successive. So the Naga dynasty of Vidisa was an old one descended as it was from Adi-Seshā himself.³ Bhogin was the first famous king. He was a mighty monarch. His son and successor was Sadachandra or Chandramsa or Rāma Chandra who was a great ruler. It might be that the Vakataka expansion was at the expense of the successors of Sadachandra. Be that as it may, Naga dynasties are not wanting even as late as the end of the fourth century A.D. Gupta kings will enjoy only Magadha and upto Allahabad. To the west will rule the Naga kings.⁴ So the *Puranas* say. Whom do we find to the south (?) of the Gupta? Kings born from Manidhanya or Manidhara will enjoy the Naishatras, Yadukas, Sisitas and Kālatoṣakas.⁵ The dynasty is undoubtedly Naga as only the Naga is said by tradition to bear the *mani* or jewel in its head. To the east is an unidentified Jayaniga Mahārājdhūrāja in the sixth century A.D.⁶

Some Later Relics

If we glance at the later history of these parts, the Kālachuri Chēdis of Bundelkhand trace their ancestry to Kārtiviryārjuna,⁷ the Haihaya or Alīhaya. The Gond chiefs of the Central provinces⁸ claim descent from the Nāgavamsī. The Rājas of Chōṭa Nagpur⁹ trace their origin to Naga Pundarika and even to-day their turban is like a coiled cobra and the cobra figures in their seal and arms. The race called Tushī, Taksha, and Tak relating to the Mori, the Paramus, etc., of Rājaputana, writes Col. Tod, an authority in this field, is met with in inscriptions of that part of the country.¹⁰

Before leaving this section, we are tempted to ask the questions, where these ubiquitous Nagas filling the canvas of history like

¹ Pargiter, *ante* p. 72

² Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 72 n.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 73

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 2

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 61

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Vogel, *ante* Introd., p. 36

¹⁰ 1. 86. See also *Ind. Ant.* vol. xiv, p. 75 and *Arch. Surv. of India*, Rep. II, p. 310

the proverbial winged ants were before the third century A.D. and where they went after. The only possible answer is that they have been there always.

SECTION C. THE DECCAN

There are more remains of the Nagas in the Deccan and South India, either because of the barrier of mountains and forests which effectively prevented, for long, foreign influences from filtering down to the south or because there were more of the Nāga people in these regions.

Mythology—The Harivamsa

Reference has already been made to the location of Pātāla somewhere in the Narmada valley and south of Gokarna. The *Harivamsa*¹ the oldest Purāna mentions the four sons of Yadu by Nāga wives who had founded four kingdoms in Māhishmati (the Narmada valley), Sāhyādri tableland (somewhere in the middle of the Western Ghats), Banavāsi and Ratnapura (in Central Provinces?). If there is any truth in the statement, the Deccan except the eastern coastal strip, was ruled by Nagas from the earliest times.

Naga Islands

The Buddhist stories speak of Nagarājas Krishna and Gautamka coming to hear the Buddha in Suppāraka from their isles in the western ocean.² As sure as anything, they were converted to the new faith. The Jātakas speak of a Nāga island near Broach³ (Elephanta?) and another Kāradwipa⁴ near it.

The story of the Nagas of Majerika interests us most. The relics of Rāmagrama⁵ were rescued from destruction by the local Nagas and carried to Majerika and subsequently to Ceylon. Cunningham locates Ptolemy's Mālanga near Masulipatam and his Bassaronagos in the tract of country between the Gōdāvari and the Krishna surrounded by water on three sides. Whether we agree with the identifications of the learned Doctor or not, there is no doubt that the Vēngī (= tiger) country was a populous Naga centre once upon a time. By the way, it may be mentioned here that Sālivāhana, the founder of the Sātavahana dynasty which ruled in the Deccan from the time of Asoka, and over it till the third century A.D. was born to Ādi-Sēsha the Nāgarāja and a Brahman girl of Paīthān on the upper Gōdāvari.

Some Historical Dynasties—The Haihayas

The Haihayas are an ancient dynasty. In Mahishmati Rāvana is said to have been defeated by Kārtavīryārjuna Haihaya. The dynasty was descended from Ahi or Vritra.⁶ Traces of this

¹ Vaidya, *Medieval Hindu India*, i, p. 80.

² Vogel, *ante*, ch. 2.

³ iii. 124.

⁴ iv. 150.

⁵ Majumdar, Cunningham's *An. Geog.*, pp. 611 and 612. See also Beal, *ante*, ii, 27.

⁶ *Maharaja's College Magazine*, vol. v, part i, by Hiralal.

dynasty can be found even in the later centuries. The Western Chalukya king Vikramāditya II and the Rashtrakuta kings Kūshna II and Indra III married Hāthayās¹. There were a group of Ahīhāyas in the Gulburga District in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries². As late as A.D. 1040 an Ahīhāya connects himself with the ancient³ Mahishmati. Hāthaya chiefs are met with in inscriptions of later centuries in Palnād⁴ now a desert but full of glory in the Buddhist age (Guntur District.) The later Kona chiefs of Gōdavāri claim descent from the Hāthayās⁵.

The Andhras and the Chutus

Epigraphy reveals a large Naga population in the Deccan including Mysore from the early centuries of the Christian era. The Chutus or Nagas of South Deccan bore the title of Mahārathi and called themselves Nagas⁶. They were governors under the Satavahanas, and, on their fall became supreme in the Deccan. The Myākadomī inscription⁷ mentions a general of Pulumāvi (third century A.D.) called Skandanāga in modern Bellary District. The inscription at Malavallī⁸ of one Chutukulananda Satakarni king of Vaiyāyantī (third century A.D.) establishes the sway of the Nagas further south.

The Kanherī inscription⁹ of Nagni Mulanikā wife of a Maharathi, daughter of 'the Great King' and mother of Skandī Naga extends the Chutu realm to Aparāntī north of modern Bombay. A Nasik inscription mentions a royal officer Agiyatānakā and his son Kapanānāka.¹⁰ Agni Mitra Naga has given a lion pillar at Knrlī near Bombay (first century A.D.)¹¹. The earliest inscription of Nanāghat (second century B.C.) speaks of the Andhra queen Naganika and an Andhra general Nākāyiro¹². An inscription at Bhaja contains the name of a Naga of Bhogavātnī¹³ while another from Kuda¹⁴ refers to nun Naganika, niece of Agnimitra Naga. The sculptures of Naga kings and big men and ordinary Naga men and women at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta reveal in a curious manner the existence of a Naga population there. The inscriptions at Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta contain plenty of Naga names¹⁵. A cursory reading of Luder's list of Brāhmaṇi inscriptions will place before us hundreds of Nāga names. Place names and personal names may not be safely trusted as primary evidence, but are useful as secondary evidence to prove our case. Vaidya,

¹ *Lp Ind*, vol. xii, pp. 269, 292

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *M E R*, 1910 p. 117, 1912 p. 84

⁵ *Ibid*, 1894, 28th Sept., p. 4

⁶ Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, ch. 3

⁷ *Ep Ind*, vol. xiv, p. 153

⁸ 1195 of Luder's list in *Ep Ind*, vol. x, App.

⁹ *Ibid*, Nos. 985, 1021, 1186

¹⁰ No. 1141 Luder's list *Ep Ind*, vol. x, App.

¹¹ *Ep Ind*, vol. vii, p. 49

¹² 1114 and 1116 of Luder's list, *ante*

¹³ *Ibid*, 1078

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 1078

¹⁵ For sculptures of the people called Nagas see pp. 28, 29, 31, 56, 60, 92. For their names, see Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, pp. 55, 82, 91, 100, 110 and 111.

as usual, makes an ingenious guess that the Sātavāhanas were Mahārathi Kshatriyās of the Nagavamsa.¹ But tradition calls them Brahmans on their mother's side and they call themselves Brahmans. However, we may infer from the abundant Naga names in inscriptions and Naga sculptures that the Deccan was a populous Naga centre and the Naga cult was popular there.

The Pallavas a feudatory of the Āndhra rulers succeeded to the rule of the Deccan by befriending the Chutu Nagas. They were established as kings by a Naga marriage. The Chalukyas overthrew a Trilōchana *Pallava* to establish their power in the Deccan.

The Ālupas and the Sēndrakas

If we take the history of the Deccan a few centuries later, we find several Nāga dynasties like the Ālupas,² the Sēndrakas³ and the Sindas.⁴ The Ālupas or Āluvas (kings?) were one of the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas some of whose inscriptions mention them as such. Their kingdom lay to the north-east of Banavāsi province. Their history before the seventh century is in obscurity. *Chitravāhana* seems to have been a familiar name among the early kings. It must be noted, as Dr. Fleet suggests, that Āluka was an epithet of Sēsha. We cannot say at present if there were any relations between the Chitravāhanas and the Sātavāhanas.

The Nāga-khanda

Another feudatory of the Western Chalukyas was the Sēndrakas. Their province was Nāyar-khanda or Nāgarkhanda which roughly comprised a division of the Banavāsi province. South Deccan and North Mysore were the Naganadu. The Sēndrakas were feudatories of the early Kadambas.⁵ In an inscription of Vinayāditya (A.D. 680-696), the province of Nāga-khanda is called Nāyar-khanda whose people had 'as their crest the Naga called *Nagara-hāvu* in Canarese.'

The Sindas

It might be that the Sindas derived their name from the famous river Sindhu (= the Indus). Any way, they are found in the eleventh and twelfth centuries over a large portion of the Deccan. The Sindas of Bijapur and Dharwar were of the Naga race, had the Naga banner and called themselves lords of Bhīgavati. Their ancestors were Pulikāla (Drav: *puli*=tiger) and Nagāditya. They had many branches of which five are given below.

¹ *Medieval Hindu India*, vol. i, p. 262.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii, p. 309. See also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. ix, p. 15.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 292. Also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. iii, 51. Also *Bombay Gazetteer*, p. 281 n. Also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 259.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, pp. 573-6; *Ep. Ind.*, iii, pp. 231, 308, 311, 316; ix, 161, 175, 311; x, 25, 31, 35, 37, 39, 40; xiv, 265, 268. See also *M.E.R.*, 1909, pp. 111-5. Also Nos. 193 and 198 of 1913 and p. 523 of 1914; *M.E.R.*, App. Lastly, Vaidya, *Medieval Hindu India*, vol. i, p. 86.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiv, pp. 13 and 14.

THE SINDAS

1	2	3	4	5
Of Bagadage (Bagalkot) under the W Chalukyas tenth and eleventh centuries	Of Erambarage (Yelburga) twelfth century a branch at Sudi Dharwar District	Arasabdi (Bijapur) the dynasty of Munja	Katabati (Satara) Sindas of Belgrave	Chindas of Bastar eleventh century

Besides the above there were minor chiefs of the Sinda family in Nolambavadi and Kadambalege. There are Sinda place names in Bellary even now. The Sindas called themselves emperors of Patala. Such a widespread dynasty could not have come into existence all of a sudden and their presence in a region once occupied by the Chutus and the Andhras is not fortuitous.

The Sindas of Bastar,

The Sindas of Bastar were one of the thirty six *Agnikulas*. They say in their inscriptions that they belonged to the Naga Vamsa and had the title of lords of Bhogavati. They had the tiger crest and the snake banner. The *linga* is found in their copper plate grants. They were of the Kasyapa gotra. Their inscriptions are found only from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But there were Nagas in and round Bastar from much earlier times. Tivaradeva of Dakshina Kosala (A.D. 425) is said to have defeated the Nagas somewhere in that region.¹ Again the Naga chief mentioned by Vijayaditya II Eastern Chalukya in his inscription² (A.D. eighth century) cannot be mistaken for any other than a potentate of Bastar.

SECTION D SOUTH INDIA AND CEYLON

Stories—The Epics

Ceylon has had close relations with South India from early times. If Ceylon was the abode of the Rakshasas so parts of South India were according to the *Ramayana*. If Ceylon was the abode of the Nagas and the Yakshas according to the *Mahawamsa* so parts of South India were according to various other accounts. The nether regions have been assigned to the *Rakshasas* and the Nagas by the *Puranas* and so South India and Ceylon being the fairest land limits of India must have appealed once to Northern imagination as Patala. *Sthalapuranas*³ are not wanting in the *Tamilakam* which mention Nag chiefs as worshipping at some of the Saiva shrines. The *Mahabharata* narrates the flight of some of the Nagas of the Khandava forest to Ramanaka (Parasuramanaka i.e. Malabar) whose people are described as handsome and rich and as devotees of Yakshas.⁴ According to the *Bhagavata Purana*⁵ the original home of Kaliya was Ramanaka.

¹ *Gupta Ins.* p. 298² *Ind. Ant.* vol. xx p. 101³ Narasimhalu Naidu *History of Soth India* (Tam.) pp. 49 322 331 635
637 719 781 787 811 817 828⁴ *Bhag. VIII*⁵ *Narasimhalu Naidu History of Soth India* (Tam.) pp. 49 322 331 635⁶ *Vogel ante ch. 1 p. 88n*

The Mahāwamsa

Buddhist stories also people these regions with Nagas. The *Mahāwamsa* which professes to sketch the history of Ceylon from Buddha's time has two interesting stories for us.¹ Vijaya met with the Nagas and Yakshas in the island on his arrival from Kalinga on his conquering expedition (sixth century B.C.). Secondly, two Naga chiefs of Manipallavam Mahodara and Chulodara fought for the kingdom, while Buddha interfered, pacified and converted them.

Manimekalai

Manimekalai has a similar story about Manipallavam, an island between India and Ceylon, 30 yojanas south of Puhār.² It also locates Naganādu somewhere about Ceylon by narrating a big catastrophe of an earthquake in a town in Gāndhāra which sank 400 yojanas on that account till it reached Naganādu!³ The island of Manipallavam is the scene of a romantic story of a Chola king which we read in the same epic. The royal hero went to Pātāla and had *liaison* with Pilivalai, daughter of Valaivanan king of Manipallavam. The child born of this union was Tondamān Ilam Tirayan in whom some writers see the progenitor of the later Pallavas.⁴ The epic inhabits the isles north-east of Ceylon with cannibalistic Nagas and suggests that Java too was Naga by mentioning Nagapura as its capital.⁵ One more place is associated with the Nagas by Manimēkālai and that is Puhar the splendid capital of the Chōlas which is praised for its magnificence from the epic days through the days of Buddhadatta, Sambandhar and Pattinathār. Puhar was once the capital of the Nāgas who were driven out by the first Chōla king Muchukunta with the aid of Indra's demon.⁶ The suggestion that is conveyed by this account is that Muchukunta was an outsider and conquered the Nāganādu on the banks of the Kāveri. He helped Indra⁷ at Amarāvati against the Asuras and so was helped by the latter in his southern conquest. The sister epic *Silappadikāram*⁸ compares Puhār with the Nāga capital, and Puhār has been known as Nagaram or Pattinam the city *par excellence* from early times.

Historical facts—The Chōlas

Ptolemy the geographer mentions Uraiyyur near Trichinopoly as Orthoura⁹ (= Uragapura or Snakecity?). Sornagos was ruling there in his time (150 A.D.) evidently a descendant of the Chōla and the Naga families. There were Nagas in and round Negā-

¹ Trans. Geiger, pp. 6, 54, 55. See also Beal, *ante*, i, Introd., p. lxxii.

² pp. 68, 81, 86. ³ pp. 83 and 84.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. lii, p. 75. ⁵ p. 225. ⁶ p. 11.

⁷ This may be a reference to a Satakarni. The Ikshvāku associations, stories of Muchukunta in Palnād, and traditions of a Kākandi in Nellore open a new vista of thought.

⁸ p. 34. The Nattukkottai Chettis call themselves Nagarathar and Puhar or Nagaram they claim as their original home. A study of the community in Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India* makes us suspect their Naga lineage.

⁹ M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (1885), pp. 63-4.

patam¹ (Nāgappattinam) which is mentioned by Ptolemy and early Tamil literature. The *Balo* who, he says, lived round the place were probably the Parathavar. The name Chōla itself seems to have been derived from *Chora* meaning thief (Tam. *Kallan*) though Muchukunta and his dynasty claim Ikshvāku descent.

The Pandya

Kanakasabai Pillai, the father of Tamil history, calls the *Maravar*, the *Eyinar*, the *Oliyar* and the *Parathavar* Nagas.² The fierce *Maravas* of Pāndya gave the title *Maran* to their ruler. Is it unlikely that the Pāndya was of *Marava* lineage especially as the *Maravas* are the most populous and noteworthy of the Pāndya inhabitants? Their marriage and religious customs are peculiar like those of the *Kollar* and mark them off as a community different from the caste non-Brahmans.

The Chēra

The Chēra is another ancient Tamil kingdom. It consists primarily of the Malabar coast the Rāmanāka of the *Muhabharata*. This country is known in Tamil as Malaiyālam i.e. *Kurinji* land or land of mountains the abode of the *Kuravar*. Their kings called themselves Vānavar probably because they lived in Malainādu; they had the appropriate how emblem.

The Nayars

The Chēra country is the land of the Nāyars which, on account of its isolation, has preserved to this day some of the peculiar social and religious customs. The word Nāga is sometimes written in early inscriptions, Nāya as in Nāyanika which occurs in the Nānāghāt inscription (150 B. C.). So it is probable that the Nāyars of Malabar represent in a comparatively pure state the ancient Nagas, whereas their neighbours had long ago evolved out of the old customs and manners. But it must be borne in mind that in evolution the original stamp is not completely effaced.

The wearing of the Nāgapatam by Nāyar women till recently, the great reverence for the Nāga throughout Malabar, traces showing the prevalence of polyandry once, the *marumakkathayam* law of inheritance—do these not confirm the equation of Naga and Nāya?³? The peculiar top-knot in which the hair is tied by the Nāyars and some ancient Brahman communities like the Chōliyas, the Dikshitar 3000, and the Nambudris might have suggested to the artist the peculiar mode of representing the Nagas.⁴

Generally in the south-western corner of every Nāyar house compound, there is the serpent-grove. Besides worshipping the higher Gods, the Nāyars adore serpents, spirits and demons like Yakshi. Specially on the *Tiruvonam* day their national festival

¹ M'Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy* (1885), pp. 63-4.

² *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, p. 42.

³ See under *Nayar* in *Thurston, ante*. Another survival of Naga is in *Nayaka*.

⁴ The idea of the artist is to distinguish the Nāga from the non-Nāga, so the natural Nāga hood or tail. See page 68, Fergusson, *ante*.

when Mahābali their great and good emperor visits the earth, the Nāyars do not fail to worship serpents and spirits. It appears that the Tamil Kārthiga festival also is to celebrate Mahābali's good rule.

The Pallava

The Pallava appears late on the scene as a power in the Tamil land. Some opine that they are descended from the Tirayar (or wave-men) a section of the Parathavar (coastal men), while others connect them with the foreign Pahlavas. To those who call the Pallavas descendants of Tondamān Ilam Tirayan, it may be said that nowhere do the historic Pallavas claim relationship with the Chōlas or the Ikshvāku family, though their founder claims to have become king by marrying a Naga.

The Tondai Nādu, the homeland of the Pallava, was inhabited by the Kurumbar or Aruvar or Aruvālār (Tam. Aruval=bill-hook) according to a Maekenzie manuscript and early Tamil literature. They were a pastoral and nomadic tribe. Their country was divided into Aruvānādu and *Aruvavadathalai* (=north Aruva). Aruvānādu according to a ninth century inscription¹ began roughly near Bāhur or Pondieherry. The other, Aruva-vadathalai must have begun somewhere about Kānehi and extended northwards up to the northernmost limit of Tamilakam somewhere near Pulicat beyond which lived the Vadugar or Northerners, speaking a language different from Tamil from the age of Tolkāppiyam which defines the Tamil boundaries. These Aruvars of the two divisions were in immediate contact with the Vadugar who came to call all the Tamils Aiavar. Aravar means Nagas in Tamil, but we do not know for certain if the Aruvar were Nagas.

This division of the Tamil land is also known as Māvilangai (Mahālanka) in Tamil. Why it was so called we cannot even guess at present. Ptolemy² mentions the Arvarnoi who had in their territory Mālanga the emporium and Mālanga the capital inland where Basaronāgas their king resided. North of the Arvarnoi was Maisolos which has been correctly identified with Masulipatam. Cunningham identified Mālanga with a place near Masulipatam,³ and Basaronāgas with the Pāli Majerika Nāga of Amarāvati according to the *Mahāwamsa*. But, there are reasons to think that Mālanga of the Tamil land did not extend so far. The Arvarnoi were the Tamil Aruvar or Aruvālār and Malanga was a place in Tondai. There is a place called Kilmāvilangai⁴ in Tindivanam Taluk and Singavaram (Simhapura) near Gingee is another significant place. Kanakasabai located the inland Mālanga in Kānchi⁵ and the coastal Mālanga in that case would be Mahābalipur (orig. Maha+ila+pur?). Malanga may be written as Māilam also and in that case Mailam and Mailapūr would compete with the other places for the distinction conferred by Ptolemy. Equally doubtful we are with regard to the identification of Basaronagas. What is more

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 5.

² M'Crindle, *ante*, pp. 65, 185.

³ Majumdar, *ante*, pp. 617-8.

⁴ *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, p. 26.

⁵ *Ante*, p. 27. According to one view, Tondaman the Young Tiraya a Chola-naga was governor of Kānchi about the time of Ptolemy i. e. the second century, A.D.

difficult to comprehend in Ptolemy is his location of the *Sore* or Chōlas in the Aicot region (A.D. 150)!

Oymānādu (lit. the land of bulls or buffaloes) seems to have been another name for Aruva and Aruvāvadathalai. In later Chōla inscriptions,¹ Oymānadu is placed round Tindivanam Taluk. Āmar, Eyilpattanam, Vellore and Mālanga were its chief towns according to *Sirupānarruppādai*² one of the Ten idylls one of the so called Sangham collections. This poem describes a chief Oymān Nalliakkōdan (= Kārkōta?)³ who lived after the hey-day of the Tamil kings and chiefs (in the third century A.D.). Nannāgan⁴ has also sung of this chief and his successors Oymān Alliāthan and Oymān Villiāthan (= Vijayaskanda?).

The Pallavas were kings of Kānchi about the middle of the third century A.D. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates⁵ of the ninth century inform us that Virakūrcha the first Pallava king attained the high status by marrying a Nāga princess. Even the earlier Pallavas had Nāga blood in their veins as their ancestor Asvathāman the Brahman archer had a Naga wife who gave birth to the Pallava⁶ dynasty. Coming to historical times, let us inquire who the Nāga princess was who was married by Virakūrcha. If Virakūrcha's kingdom was Kānchi, then in all likelihood he married a princess of the family of Nalliakkōdan whose family is said to have patronized Tamil literature after the great days of the three kings and seven chiefs and ruled over Oymānādu, Erumānādu,⁷ Mālanga, Aruva Nadu and Aruvavadathalai, or Tondai Nādu. A Pallava could have possibly become king only after Pulumavi III (about A.D. 230).

¹ Nos. 253 and 256 of 1913, No. 303 of 1910, No. 279 of 1909, Nos. 246 and 247 of 1901, and No. 353 of 1900, *M.E.R.*

² Lines 111-26. See also the Editor's Introd. to *Pattuppāttu*

³ It is difficult to say how Sanskrit names were translated in those days Nilarāja might have been his Sanskrit name. Is it likely that Nilarāja of Avamukta was somewhere about these parts? According to *Peryapurānam*, a Lord of Mukta Muthanādhan was a neighbour of Neyporul Lord of Chedi! See also No. 392 of 1911, No. 516 of 1906 and No. 324 of 1912. But neither the shrine of Avimuktesvaram in Kārvētūnagar nor Muktinādu round Muttukuru helps us very far in locating Avamulta.

⁴ I thank my learned friend Mr. V. Narayana Iyer, M.A., M.L., for having drawn my attention to a large number of poets in the so called Sangham period, whose names end in Nāga. Thus we have Anumaiya Nāganār, Ilanāganār, Inichandānāganār, Kannanāganār, Thangālporkollan Vennāganār, Madurai Kollan Vennāganār, Madurai Poovandanāganār Vettanār, Madurai Perumāruthilanāganār, Madurai Marudan Ilanāganār, Muppērnāganār, and Vellaikudi Nāganār in *Nayrinai*, Nannāgaiyār, Theetmathi Nāgan, Nāgam-pōthan, Ponnāgan, and Madurai Kadayathār Nagan Venuṅgan in *Kurunthogai*, Anuj Anthaimagal Nāgaiyār, Elūppānūti Nāgan Kumaranār, Madurai Kallir kadayathan Venuṅganār, Madurai Tamizh Kūthai Nāgan Thēvanār, Madurai Ponseikollan Vennāganār, and Mudurai Ilanāganār in *Ahanānra*, Nannāganār Puratūnai Naunāganār, Madurai Kallirkadayathan Venuṅganār, Madurai Poothan Ilanāgan, Madurai Marudan Ilanāgan, Marudai Ilanāgan, Murutiyūr Mudiuṅgarāyār, Virichiyūr Nannāganār and Vellaikudi Nāganār in *Pura-nānru*. Out of ten who set the pieces of *Paripādal* to music five call themselves Nāgas, Pethanāganār, Nāganār, Na-nāganār, Nannāganār and Kannanāganār. The above list is interesting in more ways than one.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, vol. ii, pt. v.

⁷ *Pattuppāttu*, p. 128n.

⁶ *Ep Ind.*, vol. v, p. 49.

We have to place Vijayaskandavarman Mahārāja of Kānchi at the end of the third century A.D. So it is probable that the tradition about the obtaining of a kingdom by Vīrakūrcha by a Naga marriage was in reference to the kingdom of Kānchi which was evidently partitioned out of Oymānādu as a dowry to the princess. Thus the Governor of the Andhra ruler became king.¹

The name Basaronāgas of Ptolemy, the meaning of Aravar (a variation of Aruvar) in Tamil, and the existence of the Oliya Nagas as late as the eleventh century according to an inscription of Rajendra I at Mahābalipur² make it probable that the Aruvar or Kurumbar were Nagas. Ilam Tirayan, Naga on his mother's side, who ruled Tondai, the suffixes Kōda and Ādhan in the names of the Oyman chiefs and the affiliation in name to Lanka the land of Nagas and Nāga kings³ tend to confirm to a slight extent the abovesaid probable theory.

CHAPTER II. THE EVOLUTION OF THE NĀGA CULT

This chapter deals with the successive stages of religious evolution among the ancient people of India of whom the Nāgas were probably the most numerous and widespread section.

SECTION A. ĀRYAN AND UN-ĀRYAN

The terms Āryan and un-Āryan have been used with a racial, linguistic or religious significance. It has been contended that there are three distinct racial strains in India.⁴ It has also been urged that the Dravidian languages⁵ form a group by themselves apart from the Āryan languages and misleading inferences have been drawn about race from language.

One may or may not agree with the above conclusions about race and language.⁶ He may fall in with the Paurānic view that Kāsyapa⁷ was the parent of Dēvas, Asuras, Nāgas, Yakshas and others. But he cannot so easily brush aside the religious differences between Āryan and un-Āryan so noticeable from the Vēdic age.

The Dāsas or Dasyus come in for a good deal of odium at the hands of the Vēdic psalmists. They are black in colour and they yell (*Pariah. lit.*) and do not speak. The same contempt without the Vēdic militancy is portrayed in later Brahmanical literature like the *Purānas*, the two Epics and the Laws of Baudhāyana.

But, even with regard to this proposition, the *Purānas* do not place us on firm ground. The Asuras and Rākshasas are spoken

¹ The dynasties on the East coast from Kalinga to Kanchi, A.D. 300-500 are presumably of the same stock. They supplanted the Andhra. See pp. 60-61, *Puranānūru* Introd. Pandit S. Iyer's Edition for the Nāga lineage of the Oymāns or the Oviyar

² Kanakasabai, *ante*, pp. 43-44.

³ Geiger, *Trans. of Mahāwamsa*, Introd., pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁴ For an ethnological study, see Risley, *Peoples of India*, ch. i.

⁵ For this view, see Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 41.

⁶ For the new view, see P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, pp. 9-14.

⁷ Vaidya, *Riddle of the Rāmāyana*, pp. 79-83.

of in the same breath as sacrificers and disturbers of sacrifices and as enemies and brothers of the Gods. The worship of the Sun an Aryan cult is found among the *Oraons* an admittedly un Aryan people. Burial mounds were erected by the *Vratyas* of Magadha entry into which was taboo for the Aryans for long as they were done by the Aryans, the only difference being the former were *round* while the latter were square! Scholars see in the Vedic *Skambha* and *Vaitasa*¹ the worship of the Phallus which is neolithic in age and so pre Vedic. The Vedas equate Rudra and Agni as the later *Linga Purana* does which is the source for the *Itihasa* hymners for explaining the origin of the *Linga*. There are sufficient reasons to believe that the Aryans and the un Aryans had the same view of creation. 'Personified as the God of Heaven, Dyaus (bright) is generally coupled with Prithvi (earth) the pair being regarded as the universal parents. In their marriage the sky God Dyaus is the divine father and the earth Goddess is the divine mother. In a Rigvedic hymn Father Heaven and Mother Earth are invoked both linked in the compound *Dya aprihiti* the two regarded as parents of men and Gods. In a few passages, Dyaus is spoken of as a bull referring to its generative power, the bull implicitly likened to the rain of Heaven falling on and fertilizing the barren earth.' The *Oraons*² a Dravidian tribe celebrate every year the marriage of the Earth Goddess to the Sun God in order to ensure the fertility of the ground. So the *Linga* and the *Om* standing for the universal father and mother have sanction in Aryan as well as un Aryan customs. Again to those who have read about *Purushamedha* (human sacrifice) and certain other absurd *Yajnas* the un Vedic human sacrifices in the Agency texts till recently are not so revolting. We have to look at ancient Indian History as an evolution from the lower to the higher, the less to the more refined in which the Aryan *rishis* and Buddha played a conspicuous part as reformers. At the same time, one cannot fail to notice that the lower, may be in a totally different form, persists in the higher and that the lower exists side by side with the higher. That is the inexorable law of evolution.

The differences between the Aryan and the un Aryan cults may be put in a nut shell thus. The Dasyu Gods were *Sisnadevas* (Phalli). The Dasyus were riteless (had no *Yajnas*). They kept alien rites (devil dances and orgies). They were prayerless (sang no hymns to God). They were priestless and had dealings direct with God. They did not keep sacred fires (so the *Linga* is not a pillar of fire). They worshipped mad Gods (again a reference to the devil dances and horrible ornaments of Siva, Kali etc³)

SECTION B WERE THE NAGAS UN ARYAN?

Was the cult of the Nagas un Aryan? It is difficult to answer. At a particular period they are in different stages of progress.

¹ T A Gopinatha Rao *Hindu Iconography* II i 55 57 Also Muir ante vol iv pp 13-20 and vol v p 384

² Frazer *Worship of Nature* pp 22 23 631

³ Ibid

⁴ Muir *Orig Skt Texts* vol iv p 410 Griswold *Religion of the Rig Veda* p 38 Elmore *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hindus* i p 3

Manimekalai, the Tamil epic, speaks of the naked and cannibalistic Nagas of the Nicobars and in the same breath of the apparently-civilized Valaivanan, king of Manipallavam, an important commercial island. Buddhist books speak of the Nāgas as inferior till the latter embrace the new faith. Brahman books denounce the Nagas as Asuras and at the same time praise them as semi-divine according as they respect their religion or not.

Oldham's View examined

So, Oldham's view that the Nāgas were a *Sun-worshipping, Sanskrit-speaking* people of the *Nāga totem* is not entirely true. The learned writer adds that they were stigmatized as Asuras as they did not readily admit the ascendancy of the Brahmans. Hiralal also is of a similar opinion as otherwise he cannot understand if Aryans ever proud of their blood would have married Nagas.

But, it has been pointed out already that the Nagas were an ancient people, so ancient that impenetrable myths had grown over them. They were located beyond the limits of human habitation, Āryāvarta, somewhere in the nether regions in the south with the Daityas and Rākshasas. Curiously enough, the *Rāmāyana* speaks of Rākshasas in Ceylon, while the *Mahāwamsa* inhabits the island with the Nagas and Yakshas equating to some extent the Rākshasas and the Nagas. Besides, there were different grades of culture among the Nagas.

At a certain stage the Nagas were Phallic worshippers. The Phallus came to be the symbol of Siva and Siva worship was attended with drinking and other orgiastic rites as can be seen even now among a certain section of Saivites. Bacchus was the name for Siva given by the Greek writers. The Nagas were votaries of *Sura* (drink) or Bacchus rather than of *Sūrya* (Sun). Even as late as the seventh century, Hiuen Tsang¹ wrote that *Simhala* (Ceylon) was formerly addicted to immoral religious worship, probably meaning *Linga* and *Sakti* worship. *Uttarakanda* in *Rāmāyana* tells us that Rāvana the Rākshasa king of Ceylon always carried with him a golden *Linga* but at the same time fought with Sankara in Kailasa! There is a story in *Rājatarangini* that in Siva's marriage, Siva made a *Linga* and worshipped² it! Thus the *Linga* is spoken of separately from Siva. In fact, the Naga mark (*Nāgalatha*) was the *Linga*. So, the Nāgas carried the serpent as well as the *Linga* as their emblem. If the ten-headed Rāvana (this was how a great Naga emperor was represented in art?) bore a *Linga*, his son carried a golden serpent for his banner.³ The historical Nagas as in the Chinab valley to-day worship the Naga, while the Bhara Sivas of the fourth century A.D. carried a *Linga*! Thus, we do not read either in history or mythology that the Nagas worshipped the Sun though it is likely that the good Nagas of Brahmanical lore adopted the Aryan cult and rites.

Similar is the misconception about the language of the Nagas. Just as there is verbal similarity between *jnāyiru* (Tam. Sun) and

¹ Beal, *ante*, vol. ii, p. 246. Nāga also means Sun.

² I. iii, pp. 443-7. ³ Muir, *ante*, vol. iv, p. 411.

Nayar or Nāga, so there is resemblance between Naga and *Nagari*. It is more than doubtful if any people in India spoke Sanskrit at any time and if it was not merely a literary and religious vehicle. At any rate, we have no evidence if the Nāgas of Ceylon and other islands, the Nagas of Malabar, the Nāgas of Mālāngā and Majerika and the Nagas of Bhogavati spoke Sanskrit from the pre-Vēdic age whence they seem to have existed in those places as far as we can say at present, or languages akin to those that are now the mother tongues in those parts. There is no doubt, however, that some Nagas distinguished themselves as Sanskrit scholars as some took to Aryan religion.

If we bear in mind this difference among the Nagas in culture, if we remember also that some of the Nāga princesses were proverbially accomplished beauties and carried with them kingdoms to their husbands, we need not pause for an answer to the question why Jaratkāru's father or Arjuna or Kusa married a Naga.

It is with great hesitation that we venture to differ from such sound writers as Oldham and Hiralal, but we contend that sufficient reasons have been shown in the course of this book to re-examine their views. If we succeed in identifying the *Veddahs*¹, the *Maravar*, the *Kallar*, the *Parathavar* and the *Kurumbar* with the Nagas, if the *Bhils*, the *Nishadas* and the *Kiratas* are proved to be Nagas, then no doubt need be entertained as to the Āryan or unĀryan Vedic or un-Vedic culture of the Nagas.

SECTION C SNAKE, SPIRIT AND SAKTI WORSHIP

We are firmly convinced that Indian society was in the totemistic and matriarchal stage in the dim dawn of history and has gradually evolved towards the pastoral-agricultural and patriarchal stage that is well-developed in the Vedic age. There are still traces of totemistic divisions, loose marital ties and even polyandrous habits among the primitive inhabitants of India.²

The Serpent-cult

To the Nagas, their emblem the snake was sacred. They believed in the snake as their protector or God. They believed that they were descended from it. So the snake combined for them the ancestor, the king and God. It is difficult to explain the feeling underlying this well-nigh universal primitive cult. Takshaka, Kārkota, Vāsuki and others were to the Indian Nāgas their ancestors, kings and Gods and represented later on as human beings with Nāga hoods. Even otherwise, snakes were sculptured later on to represent sexual love and the principle of procreation. The trees which sheltered the snakes came to command some reverence on that account.

¹ Vētas? Does Ptolemy's *Batoe* refer to vētas?

² For political evolution of states see Jenks, *History of Politics*, for totemism and polyandry in India see Risley, *Peoples of India*, pp 95-109, 207-212, Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*.

Its History

The Serpent cult is mentioned in the Buddhist *Niddesa*,¹ *Mahāvastu*² and *Chamepprya Jataka*.³ The last work and the *Rāmāyana*⁴ speak of it in connection with the getting of children. The Greek writers who accompanied Alexander (327 B.C.) note that serpents were kept at Taxila for worship as ancestral symbols. The votive offerings to them were iron tridents and serpent models.⁵ Plenty of Nāga figures have been found at Bārbūt, Sānchi, Amarāvati, Mathura and Ajanta. Some of them are representations of Nāga men and women⁶ while others are figures of the Nāgarājas, objects of worship. In some of the Amarāvati and Sānchi sculptures, the five-hooded cobra occupies the place of the Buddha and devotees are carved by its side.⁷ Thus the snake cult had passed into Buddhism.

Traces To-day

According to *Rājatarangini*, the Nagas figure prominently in the early history of Kashmir. They are eminently popular deities, a long account of whom is given in *Nilamata Purāna*. Between the Chināb and the Ravi the original home of the Kathes or the Takhis and in the adjoining countries of Uraga and Abisara there was serpent worship in the fourth century B.C. Even to-day, in that region, Nāga demigods are worshipped as the deified rulers and ancestors of an ancient people whose emblem was the Naga. The temples under the sacred Devadāru tree are not to snakes but to Nāgarājas who are sculptured with many hoods.⁸

The cult has entered Hinduism, and *Naga panchami*, *Naga chaturthi*, *Nāgā sānti* and *Asvathapradakshina*, ceremonies connected with the Nāga and the obtaining of children are popular and universal. In Guzerat there are plenty of Nāga shrines.⁹ In South India, snake-stones some of them very big representing the Linga coiled by snakes are a familiar feature at the foot of the Asvatha tree in almost every village.

The Sakti Cult

The primitive people everywhere were animists. They believed in the existence of Spirits, mostly evil, as the feeling actuating the ancients was fear. This cult of fear has still survived in the villages. Most of these spirits were female as the organization of the society

¹ Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 248n.

² Vogel, *ante*, ch. v.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. iii.

⁴ Trans., p. 266.

⁵ Oldfield Howey, *ante*.

⁶ Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship* and Fergusson and Burgess, *Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayapeta*, see also *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 11. For Naga worship, see p. 149, *Arch. Surv. of India*, Rep. 1924-5. For the cult at Mathura see p. 159, *Arch. Surv. of India*, Rep. 1908-9.

⁷ See the collection in the Madras Museum. For the cult on Andhra coins see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 276.

⁸ Oldham, *ante*, p. 113.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*; vol. iv p. 5, 197. For the cult in S. India see *M.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 34.

was then matriarchal. That is why with very few exceptions, the village deities of India are Goddesses.¹ Most Saiva Goddesses were fearful fond of flesh and blood and wine and connected with devils, goblins and diseases. Tvarita was the Goddess of the Kiratas, Vindhya-vāsinī and Āpy or Durga of the Sabaras, Pulundas and Barbaras.² The Spirits or Goddesses usually resided under trees or in groves as men had no better habitation in the earliest times. Sometime later, they were represented by pieces of wood or stone and sheltered under the shade of trees. A survival of this stage also can be seen to day. The presiding deity was Kali (lit black) delighting in blood and ornamented with skulls and snakes. She was called *korrasi* (Queen) in Tamil. Buffaloes so sacred to the Todas to day and images of which are found in the Ādichennallur tombs,³ were the only victims that could propitiate Kali. The Goddesses of Madura, Kanchi and Orrugur did havoc among human beings till Śankara could bind them down. So the village goddesses would create trouble unless bloody offerings are offered at least once a year.

SECTION D THE PHALLIC CULT

The Phallic cult could not have flourished in the matriarchal stage when the *Sakti* cult was dominant. The former imposed itself on the latter with the suppression of the female and the evolution of patriarchal life. It was closely connected with Ancestor-worship and the Snake cult.

The Cult Neolithic

Among the Neolithic remains in the Deccan brought to light by Bruce Foote,⁴ Phalli are mentioned as one. Besides the Phalli of the usual kind he has noticed Neolithic earthenware Phalli. On the Shevaroy hills, he discovered a Phallus, a small object of pile ware. In Baroda, he found a sacred bull with a garland round his hump. The ringstones also that were found by Bruce Foote were probably objects of worship.

The Mohenjo Daro finds assigned to about 3000 B.C. include brick temples and ringstones and chessmen probably objects of worship. Seals with the figures of a bull and a pipal tree have also been picked up there.

Thus, at a very early period the Phallic cult must have originated. The Snake-cult was closely affiliated to it nay, was at the root of it. The *Sakti* cult characteristic of the first and matriarchal stage came to be mixed with it. It is very likely that the Snake cult was the

¹ Krishna Sastri *ante* pp. 223, 229 Muir *ante* vol. iv p. 433

² *Ibid* ³ M.A.R. 1900 August 16 p. 3

⁴ *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric antiquities* by B. Foote (*Catalogue Raisonné*)

P	Dt	No	
9 4 ²	Salem	172b 444 8	Phallus
98 103 105	Bellary	1521 1542 1548, 3043	1 Bull 3 Lingas
196	Baroda	3044b 3055c	Phallus
196	Do	3049	Bull's head

cult first of the Nāgas in India, and these ancient and widespread people must have had, at any rate, a large share in the evolution of the other equally ancient and interwoven cults. Just as the *Sakti* is the stand of the *Linga*, so the snake is the protector and ornament of the latter coiling round it. The principle of creation these two symbolize, *Prakriti* and *Purusha* the universal Mother and Father.

One of the important instincts of human beings is reproduction by which the family and race are perpetuated. The father was held in great respect in the patriarchal state. So to the mother cult of the previous stage the father-cult was added. The mother and father are the first Gods, sang Avvai. What is more natural than to worship the father the creator of the family even after death, invoke his blessings for further perpetuation of the family and make offerings to his spirit on festive and ceremonial occasions. The Phallus represented the perpetuation of the family and race and came to symbolize the ancestor.

The Phallus stood for Creation on Destruction

We do not know when the Phallus came to be placed on the *Samādhis* and we have no evidence to show if it was placed on the Chaityas of all the dead.¹ According to the *Satapatha Brahmana*, circular mounds (resembling the Phallus) were erected over the remains of the dead by the *Asuras* and these *stupas* were objects of worship. The principal dead might have been honoured with bigger *stupas*. In course of time, it is likely that the Phallus was placed over the buried remains instead of a *stupa*. In the long run, the Phallus was extended to represent the principle of the creation of the universe. So creation stood over destruction !

Even now the *Linga* is placed over the *Samādhis* of the Saiva *Sanyāsis* and the Lingayat tombs. It must be noted here that phallic worship was the primitive form of Siva worship and un-Brahminical and un-Vedic in origin with its roots in the Neolithic times, as otherwise, the cry of the pure or *Vira Saivas* in the twelfth century to return to the pure Saiva worship i.e., the worship of the Phallus without the later cobwebs of image, *Karma*, etc., would be utterly meaningless. The Buddhist burial mound or *stupa* had the shape of the Phallus as it was only a continuation of the old custom. So it was that Siva was sung as the head of other religions also. Considering the age and the principle of the Phallus, one can easily understand the *Tēvāra* hymns repeating that Siva was ancient and was destroyer, creator, protector and giver of grace, the last three being always associated with the ancestor. The Phallus on the burial ground its earliest abode came to be separately located in course of time under trees and in temples without any relation to it, just as the innumerable *stupas* votive and other had no relic of Buddha in them but were still objects of worship. Is it not obvious, now that we have understood the true origin of the *Linga* from ancestor worship, why our women go round and round the *Asvatha* tree which shelters the stones with serpents coiling round *Lingas* ?

¹ M.E.R., 1914, p. 107.

The particular fondness of Siva and Kâli for snakes is significant. No doubt the snake cult has entered all religions but to none it is so closely related as to that of *Nagabâshana* and that too is not without reasons. It was a cult evolved by the Nagas whereas others were adopted by them.

Kumâra, the son of Siva, has close associations with the snake. The Siva *Linga* is connected with the snake hole. In some of the oldest temples at Orrîur and Melkote the original object of worship is an ant-hill. Vanmikanîthar (lord of the ant-hill) is the oldest God at Tiruvârûr. Near Naganâthî at Negapitam there is an ant hill.¹ A Chola found a *Linga* in an ant hill at the shrine of Tiruppattur.² Probably the earth-*linga* of Kâncchi an old temple, is also an ant-hill. There is a vague belief that there is a *Linga* inside an ant-hill in which snakes generally dwell. Because every mountain looks conical like an ant-hill, it is sacred.³ Thus there is an inseparable connection between the *Linga* and the snake which is not the case with regard to any other than the Phallic cult.

The Serpent and Phallic Cults

No other cult has so much to do with procreation and creation. Here again, the snake plays its part and connects itself with the ancestor whose symbol is the Phallus. But for such connection, how can we explain the beliefs that the Nagarajas i.e., the *Nigaprajapatis* of ancestors confer children on the childless, that the *Samadhis* of the dead are guarded by five-hooded *Sarpas* (similar to the Buddhist representation), that the Cobra stands for the ancestor (or *causa*) and that the dead are converted into snakes and the dead live in *Pitriloka* somewhere in *Patala*. Some of these beliefs are not only crude but universal even outside India.

SECTION E SIVA THE LORD OF THE DEMONS

The *Linga* the symbol of the ancestor has come to represent the ancestor of all, God. How did it acquire the anthropomorphic form and attributes? Tamil language has a pure Tamil word for God (*Kadarul*) transcendent, and has no word for image. So the Phallus which is formless was probably the God of the people who spoke Tamil.

Some attributes of Siva and Muruga

If we analyse the attributes of Siva and Muruga, they are mostly Himalayan. Siva is pictured as living in Kailâsa attended by the Himalayan Ganas, Yakshas, Gîndîrvâs, etc. He bears the Ganga and marries the daughter of the Himalayas. His color is golden. He rides on the bull and has a liking for bull sacrifice unlike *Sakti* delighting in buffalo blood. His weapons like the battle axe so

¹ Vogel, *ante*, ch. vii, p. 273

² M A R. 1903-4, p. 82

³ Also because Siva's favourite abode is the hill. Cf. Tev. vii p. 3 *et seqq.*

essential to mountaineers point again to his original habitat. Muruga also is a mountain God. He is born in Saravana in the Himālayas. He is equally fond of bull sacrifice. He commands the *celestials* against the *Asuras*. The progress of Siva and Muruga is first marked by the destruction of *Asuras* like Tripurāsura, Andhaka, Jalandhra, Tāraka and Sūrapadma of Ceylon. Besides, the *Linga* at Gudimallam, a very ancient one 200 b.c., has the figure of Siva carved on it with Mongolian features. The Linga is exactly like the male organ and the image carries a battle-axe, a deer and a water-pot. The image has plaited hair and no holy thread.¹

Did the Yakshas have anything to do with the origin of Siva? They are a Himālayan people who in remote antiquity spread as far as Ceylon and by sheer might imposed themselves on the sub-Himālayan peoples as Gods.² In legend and history we meet with the Yakshas and the Yaksha-cult.

The Yakshas in Legend and History

The *Rāmāyana*³ and the *Mahawamsa*⁴ people Ceylon with Yakshas. Rāvana drove away his half-brother Kubēra, chief of the Yakshas and occupied Ceylon. The latter took refuge with his followers in Kailāsa. The epic mentions Yakshas opposite to Ceylon on the mainland probably a section of those who fled from the island. The *Jatakas* speak of the Yakshas here and there. They lived on the Himālaya,⁵ had Kubēra as their chief⁶ and sometimes married among human beings (i.e. Āryans, Nāgas, etc).⁷ They were flesh eaters and cannibals.⁸ They were initiated into vegetarian diet by Buddha.⁹ In one place they are equated with the Rākshasas.¹⁰ Bloody offerings were a chief feature in Yaksha cult.¹¹

Yakshas are mentioned in the Brāhma inscriptions in Pāndya (200 b.c.). Early Malabar and Travancore inscriptions mention many petty rulers with Yaksha names. The Nāsik cave and Sanchi inscriptions contain many Yaksha names.¹²

The Yaksha cult was popular among the Sākyas. Yaksha figures have been discovered at Pātaliputra¹³ and Sānchi where they were objects of worship. Early Tamil literature mentions Yakshas as being worshipped by the Āyar (shepherds) whose favorite deities were Krishna (Karuppan) and Bāladēva (Vellaiyan an *avatar* of Sesha).¹⁴ Two Yakshas with clubs guard every Siva sanctum even to-day.

Kanakasabai Pillai suggested a Himālayan origin to the Tamils on certain plausible grounds. We are not concerned with that

¹ T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. ii, pt. i, pp. 65-71.

² My learned friend Mr. Prabhakara Sastri, sees Yakshas in the Telugu *Jakkulu*.

³ *Uttara*.

⁴ Geiger, *ante*, ch. vii.

⁵ iii, 96.

⁶ iii, 298, *Yakkan*-North (Tam.)

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ iii, 96, 132.

⁹ iii, 201.

¹⁰ iii, 96-97.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Proc. of the Third Oriental Conference, 1924, pp. 287-300 Article by K. V. Subramania Iyer.

¹³ Modern Review, Oct. 1919

¹⁴ Kanakasabai, *ante*, p. 57; Krishna, Kāli, Kāliyan, Karuppan are all black.

question at present but only with the trans Hīmālayan influence on the sub-Hīmālayan religion

Siva, a Trans Himalayan God

On the coins of the Kushanas,¹ Devaputras or celestials and a trans-Himalayan people, Siva and Nandi are found but not the Phallus. The various foreign peoples who came to India from almost the same region, e.g. the Huns and the Sakas and the Pallavas who were in long and intimate contact with the latter were worshippers of Siva. Mihirakula's coins bear the hull and the trident.² The Pallavas had the Naga ensign and the bull standard.

The Scythian races, says Cunningham, had a partiality for Heracles, for they identified him with their own God of the dead. On the coins of the Indo Scythian Sakas,³ we have the name Sapaleizes (of Savara) on one side and Nanaia on the other. The coins of Maues, Azes and Azilises show their marked devotion to the worship of the cloth hero Sapal. Maues calls himself Devaputra like the Kushāns.⁴

Well, what are the conclusions that we draw from the above particulars? The Phallus represented creation essentially, while Rudra of the Vēdas stood for destruction. In the evolution of the Phallus into Rudra Siva with certain attributes, the Yaksha or trans Hīmālayan influence is traceable.

Siva un-Āryan and un-Vedic

The story of the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice illustrates the un-Āryan nature of Siva, who like the Rakshasas, seems at first inimical to Brahmanical sacrifices. Till then, no portion of the offering used to be given to Siva.⁵ Mahadeva's worship was performed without Brahmans, says the Vayu.⁶ Siva was the abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers, says the *Bhāgavata*.⁷ Bṛigu said, 'Let those who practise the rites of Siva be opponents of true scriptures. In the initiation of Siva, liquor is the deity. Since you revile the Vēdas and Brahmans, you have embraced heresy. Your God is the king of Goblins.'⁸ R P Chanda in his *Indo-Āryan Races* quotes *Kurma Purana* and *Kumarila* to prove the un-Āryan and un-Vedic origin of worship. If we inquire into the historical and rational origin of the Phallus and its significance, setting at nought its supposed origin and later refinement and philosophic and Puranic explanations as not concerning the inquirer, we cannot but arrive at the above conclusions.

¹ Coins of the Kushāns, reprinted from the *Num Chronicle*, vol xii, Rapson's Coins, pl ii, Nos 11, 12

² Rapson's Coins pl iv, Nos 20, 21

³ Coins of the Indo Scythians, reprinted from the *Num Chronicle*, ix pp 60-62

⁴ Coins of the Sakas, reprinted from the *Num Chronicle*, vol x, pp 4-6, Muir, *anté*, iv, p 374

⁵ Muir, *anté* iv, p 374

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ *Ibid*

⁸ *Ibid*, p 382.

CHAPTER III. THE MEANING OF THE LINGA AND A REINQUIRY
INTO ITS ORIGIN

Linga a Formless Symbol

Linga means symbol in Sanskrit. It is the symbol of God. But, why should it have such a shape? It is answered philosophically that the shape of the Linga is formless, and so like *Sāligrāma* is a perfect form of the formless Brahman.¹ The Primitive people set up a stone as God and worshipped it, as people still do so to represent the dead during the first ten days of the funeral ceremonies. It does not require skilful workmanship. In course of time, it attained the present shape. The pedestal was for fixing the stone in position. But this simple explanation does not lead us anywhere as to the origin of the wellnigh universal Primitive cult² of *Phallism* and *Sakti*.

Linga is Fire

The story of the *Linga Purāna* is that the *Linga* represents the pillar of fire the ends of which could not be found by Brahma and Vishnu. What better shape could be given to the flame? Rudra is equated with Agni in the Veda and thus Siva is derived from the Tamil word for 'red'. The pedestal is the *Agni-kundam*. So Siva worship was the old fire worship so common to the Indo-Āryans of scholars. Then, the Neolithic and pre-Vedic Phallus belonged to the Āryan fire-cult! The *Sisnadeva*.(Phallus) of the *fireless* and *riteless* Dasyu stood for *fire*! Then, why should the *Sisnadevas* be condemned? why should the pillar of fire be associated with creative energy? why should it have its peculiar shape as at Gudimallam, Kalattur and Kudimiyamalai? These are all later, refined and Brahmanical concoctions to cover its crude origin.

The Secret

There is no shape or form without Uma, sang Appar³ and so the Ardhanārī form to God. Upamanyu says, 'We have not heard that the *Linga* of any other person is worshipped by the Gods. He whose Linga Brahma, Vishnu and Indra worship is the most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of Brahma or Vishnu, know everything that is male is Īśāna and all that is female to be Uma.'⁴

The generative meaning of *Linga* is dealt with in the Saiva *Purānas*. The *Skanda* says, the sky is the shaft and the earth the pedestal; and the whole creation finds its origin and rest there. The *Linga* denotes the primeval energy of the creator, says *Saura Samhita*, *Sivarahaśya*.⁵ There is nothing obscene about it to-day.

¹ Krishna Sastri, *ante*, p. 72.

² Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, *Phallism*.

³ Tev., iv, p. 51, Ayyāru.

⁴ Muir, *ante*, vol. iv, pp. 189, 405.

⁵ Krishna Sastri, *ante*, pp. 72-73n.

The Buddhist Stupa is later

To one who has grasped the *Sitarakasya*, the Buddhist origin of the *Linga* comes as an amusing explanation. No doubt the Buddhist *Stupa* is as old as the fifth century n.c. It is of the shape of the *Linga* and to-day two such *Stupas* at Guntapalli and Sankatam are worshipped by the people who have mistaken them for *Lingas*.¹ The *Stupas* in the Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta sculptures seen in the Madras Museum will be easily mistaken by anybody for *Lingas*. Some of the *Stupas* were sculptured with two eyes,² one on either side. Mahayana sanctioned *puja*, Incense, etc. to them. Car-festivals for the *Utsava* (image) and not for the *Mula Vigraha* (*Stupa*) are noted by Fa Hinn.

Sairism Pre-Buddhist

There were *chaityas*, and round *chaityas* too, erected over the remains of the dead, especially the great dead before the age of Buddha.³ According to Bruce Foote, the Phallus was Neolithic. Rudra appears in the *Kig Veda* and Siva worship can be traced from the *Vajur Veda* downwards. The great Epic, the contents of which are very old, contains innumerable proofs of Saiva worship in its barbarous and civilized phases. According to tradition confirmed by archaeology, Buddha was first a Saiva. One of the earliest works quotes Buddha as saying 'so long as the Vajjians honor their shrines with due rites, so long they shall prosper.' 'There were many *chaityas* in Buddha's days, named after trees. Some say that Yakshas (demons) were worshipped in them.'⁴ Siva the lord of the Yakshas and other *Ganas* and the Sakyn God was therefore pre-Buddhist. *Brahmajala Sutta* as old as the second council if not older mentions *Sira Vigga* which, according to some, refers to the Saiva cult. *Bikkufachittija*⁵ ii. 1 speaks of a Brhman's ox as big as *Nandi*. The earliest Buddhist remains at Sanchi⁶ bear traces of Saake, Slen and Vishnu cults (third century n.c.). So, the supposed Buddhist origin of the *Linga* only confirms our inference that *Linga* worship had at its origin intimate relationship with the crematorium.

So we may arrive at the following conclusions. The *Linga* was pre-Buddhist. In course of time the cult came to be refined. At its origin, it had intimate relation with the Ancestor, i.e. with death and birth. In the former capacity of Lord of death, Siva wears skulls and bones and ashes; as Lord of creation, he sports and is ever-anspicious.

Siva and Death

There is a widespread belief that the South Indian temples were built on the *Samadhis* of very holy men. The *Nattukottai*

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1889, Aug. 2, p. 1; 1907-8, p. 2; 1908-9, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 50.

³ Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Tope*, Introd., p. 10; also the *Satapatha Brahmana*. For the origin of the *Chauhyas*, see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 20.

⁴ B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*, pp. 76-81.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 96. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Ed. by Max Muller, vol. II, p. 18.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 96.

Chettis, while repairing old temples, have struck upon bones and ashes beneath the *Linga*.¹ At Peddakanchērla² in Vinukonda Taluk, an interesting discovery is recorded, where under the *Linga* found in a Buddhist *chaitya* were bones and ashes and broken sepulchral urns and charcoal. In Kāmapalli,³ Guntur District, there is an outline of a *Linga* and a bull in a tumulus. At Rāyadrug,⁴ Bellary District, a very primitive *Linga* has been found with the remains of a few ruined tombs. Some of the Siva temples in Southern India go by the name of *Mayanam* (Skt. *Smasanam*) like Kadaiyur, Nālur, etc., which are much older than the seventh century A.D. There are other temples ending with *palli* (Tam. village) which literally means sleep. When we look into the meaning of *palli* as used by Buddhists, Jains and Muhammadans, we are tempted to look for the tombs of some great men in some of the Hindu *pallis*!

We have plenty of later evidence for the building of Siva temples over the great dead, kings and sages, the temporal and spiritual rulers of the people. Rājāditya Ganga⁵ built a Siva temple on the spot where his father was buried in Solapuram (ninth century). Another Siva temple was built at Thondamānād over or near the burial ground of Aditya I, Chola.⁶ At Mēlpādi, the Cholēsvara temple was built as a *pallippadai* for the Lord who died at Ārrūr.

This is the true origin of the Siva temple. It might be that there was a later revulsion of feeling against building over the dead. But still building over the dead persists. And the *Linga* that is placed in the other class of temples is like the relicless Buddhist votive *stupa*, but nevertheless neither its origin nor its significance can be obscured by Brahmanical injunction or *Puranic* mythology.

PART II.—BUDDHIST AND JAINA REMAINS IN TAMIL NADU

CHAPTER I. TAMIL LITERATURE OF THE 'SANGHAM AGE'

Tamil literature, the oldest of the Dravidian literatures, contains innumerable references to Buddhism and Jainism and owes a good deal to their encouragement. It is not my present task to deal in detail with either, though a brief survey of early Tamil literature is necessary to understand the popularity of these two religions and the existence of others at a time from which we have very little archæological and epigraphical material. My main business will be to present the archæological remains of a later period and establish beyond a shadow of doubt that the first two *Tēvāra* hymners (seventh century A.D.) sang only about what they saw, namely, the wide prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism which they denounced and suppressed.

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1915-16, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, 1889, April 30, p. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, 1915-16, p. 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cf. *Rājatarangini*, vol. ii, st. 134.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1894, July 10, p. 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1912-13, p. 42.

The Tolkappiyam

The *Tolkappiyam* (the old *kavyam*)¹ is the oldest piece of Tamil literature now existing.² The influence of Brahmanism is traceable in it but not that of Buddhism, which was in Pāndya in 200 B.C. according to the Brahmi inscriptions found there. It lays down the duties of Brahmans and allots Muruga, Kāli, Vishnu, Indra and Varuna, to the five parts of the Tamil land. The absence of the Phallus or Siva in the above list is surprising, though it is untenable to contend on that ground that the great God was unknown to the Tamils at that time. Probably, he was the supreme God, the God of all the five divisions of the country, the *Kadazul* of the Tamils, and therefore, finds no mention in the description of any of the five regions. The pillar or the Phallus³ was an object of worship among the Tamils of the age of Tolkāppiyar and stood for the Supreme.

The Two Epics

Silappadikaram and *Manimekkalai* convey to us that Buddhism and Jainism were popular in their time though Brahmanism and the Primitive religion existed side by side. *The Epic of the Anklet*⁴ mentions in Puhār, the Chola capital, Buddhist *viharas*, Jain monasteries, Muruga, Siva and Vishnu fanes and also Bhūta squares. There was a *Nedunkal*, i.e. a tall stone (a Phallus ?) which cured the insane, the poisoned and the possessed. The Purānic stories about Siva were current and popular in the age of the epic. The *Arūpi* (formless) referred to by it was also presumably the Phallus, the formless symbol of God.⁵

The *Jewel-belt*, the other epic, describes the Buddhists of even distant islands like Jāva. Its Buddhism was Hinayāna. Kānehi and Vanchi were great Buddhist centres where all the religious systems could be learned. There is mention again of temples to all Gods and the sect of *Kapalikas* devoted to the terrible form of Siva.

Muruga Cult and Legends

There is an interesting piece on Muruga in the *Ten Idylls*, one of the 'Sangham Collections'.

This is an old one having been sung by Nakkirar, a prolific and admittedly ancient writer. This reveals an organized system of worship to the God Muruga, considered by some as purely Tamil, whose temples crown the tops of hills like Mailam, Palani, Subramiam, etc., even to-day. The Muruga cult, an old one like the Saiva, had as great a hold over peoples' minds. He was everywhere, in the forest and grove, river and tank, the cross-road and the

¹ Obviously it was not the name of the book. It was so called by a generation that came long after it.

² For a brief account of Tamil religion as revealed in this ancient book, see C. S. Doraiswamy, *Tamil Ilakkayam in Tamil* (Sangham age).

³ See C. S. Doraiswamy, *ante*, "ஈடு உபத்தே @கால் அவைக்காலை சிரைக்கு வருமாறு மாற்றுவது என்று உணர்வு."

* *Silappadikaram*, ch. v., Indra festival.

⁵ C. S. Doraiswamy, *ante*, "உருவாப்புப்போக்கு அவைக்காலை"

Kadamba tree. Some rice was mixed with flowers and spread before Muruga. A fowl was cut and its blood mixed with it. Ghee was poured and mustard was strewn over it. Sometimes toddy and goats were offered. Then a *mantra* was muttered low and the devotee's four fingers were bent while the other one was pointed and then placed on his breast. Then flowers were strewn, incense was offered, hymns were sung and drums beaten. Somebody fell into a trance and on him came the spirit of Muruga.¹ Here you have much that entered into the later system of worship. Here you see the beginnings of worship by signs as opposed to that by hymns.

The Purānic stories about the birth of Muruga, his six faces and twelve hands, his parents riding on the bull, Siva the three-eyed who destroyed the three cities and lived under the banyan tree, and Parvati named *Palayol*² the destroyer of the Buffalo-demon,³ his exploits against Sura-padma,⁴ his marriage with a *Kurava* or hill girl—all these are dealt with in *Tirumurugarruppadi*. These show the ancientness of the legends that had gathered round the Himālayan Gods Muruga and Siva.

The Tamil's Love for their Land and Religion

The people of the Tamil land with their great attachment to their old religion and Gods were first loth to give them up and adopt new ones. No Asokan mission came to the Tamil land though Tissa of Ceylon seems to have sent a few preachers. There was no Tamil representative in the assembly of Duttagāmani Abhaya in the first century B.C. In the second century B.C. a number of Tamil invasions of Ceylon hostile to Buddhism are on record. Karikāla Chōla brought back the Buddha's bowl and other relics from Ceylon displaying great enmity to the religion of the Enlightened One.⁵ Early Tamil literature teems with references to the wars waged by the Tamils with the northerners to safeguard their political and religious freedom. Even the great Asoka did not venture beyond North Mysore thus leaving the Tamils in happy isolation to deeply cultivate their language and religion in such a way that they could not be effaced by the northern culture when it invaded them.⁶

¹ *Tirumurugarruppadi*, lines, 218-27.

² மாலை.

³ Mahishasura. The buffalo was sacred to the Southern guardian, Yama. Note the Todas' attachment to the animal and the excavation of buffalo-images at Ādichanallur.

⁴ King of Ceylon in tradition.

⁵ S. K. Iyengar, *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture*, p. 90.

⁶ Except in the two epics there are few references to the anti-Vedic religions in ancient Tamil literature known as 'Sangham literature'. For the age of the 'Sangham literature' see Kanakasabai, *ante*, and Dr. S. K. Iyengar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*. But scholars are not wanting who post-date a considerable quantity of the literature especially the romantic epics. Astronomers, Epigraphists and Sanskritists are for a later age for the epics. Among Dravidian scholars P. T. Srinivasa Iyenger and M. Raghava Iyengar are of the same opinion.

Tamilakam Source of Revival and Bhakti

So, the two new religions made headway in spite of many obstacles. Hemmed in by Buddhist Ceylon on one side and the Deccan which was Buddhist and Jain from the early times till the eleventh century A.D. on the other, the Tamil country also had to give way to the peaceful penetration of the two religions. But it was the first to overthrow the new religions. The seed for the revival was there and the necessary stimulus was given to it by the Saiva and Vaishnava saints¹ some of whom are to be placed in the early centuries of the Christian era, if not in even earlier times. So it is the South which began the Hindu revival and gave it the impress of *Bhakti* which knew no caste or sex differences,² like the anti-Vedic religions on whose ashes it thrrove vigorously. So it is that the Purāṇas praise the South as the only fountain of *Bhakti* in Kaliyuga.³

Mahayana's Origin

The Mahayāna form of Buddhism is said by historians to have grown as a result of the contact of the Hinayāna with the peoples outside India. Thus V. A. Smith wrote⁴ that 'the Mahayāna must have been largely of foreign origin'. But it is a great mistake. The Buddha began his reform on the two existing religions by laying down a moral code and ignoring God. But soon his creed had to succumb to the popular religion of the worship of ancestors and Gods. Nāgarjuna a Deccani, was one of the founders of the Mahayāna. According to tradition⁵ he went to Nagaloka to learn all the *sūtras* which could not be had on earth at that time. He learned them, returned to his country and converted a southern king and ten thousand Brahmins to Buddhism. Thus one important school of Mahayāna originated and spread in Southern India before it travelled north.⁶

So the old worship and rituals of the people, purified by Āryan influences and deprived of their bloodiness by Buddhism and Jainism, invaded the austere Hinayāna and changed it. Thus was evolved the Mahayāna with temples, images, incense and festivals. And Buddhism the austere and monastic system which it was at its origin ceased to be so to the people, though as a school of thought and inquiry it gained in consequence.

¹ For the Vaishnava saints, see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *The Alvars* (Madras Univ.) and S. K. Iengar, *Vaishnavism in South India*.

For the Saiva saints, see K. Srinivasa Pillai, *Jamīl Varalādu* part II (in Tamil) and my paper on 'The Age of Nayanars' in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras vol. I.

² Cf. the freedom enjoyed by women in the Buddhist age to give in charity and become nuns, and the privilege of donating to the shrines extended, e.g. to a *chāmūrī* in Amṛāvatī.

³ Sekkilar says 'கோகாரை சுதா செப்பை'.

⁴ *Early History* (1924 ed.) p. 282 ⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. IV, p. 141

⁶ According to another version Mahayāna is to be traced to the time of Chandragupta Maurya when a book was written on it. In the age of Kapishka, there were various texts on the subject but they were obtained mainly from the Nagas. See Waller, *Nugdīvara from Tibetan and Chinese Sources*.

CHAPTER II.—THE PROPAGANDA OF SAMBANDHAR

Appar and Sambandhar have sung that Buddhism and Jainism prevailed everywhere in the Tamil country. As Sambandhar denounces them in almost every hymn, we have to infer that the religions were very popular. But for corroborative evidence that there were *Jains* in or near every Saiva *kshetra* of his day, we would brush aside his repetitions as a matter of routine. At the same time, the existence of the Saiva temples and many Saiva devotees to welcome the saint wherever he went show plainly that Saiva worship was fully alive during the heyday of its rivals.

Sambandhar's Propaganda

The main achievements of Sambandhar and Appar are their triumphs over Jainism which had the largest following in Tondai and Pāndya Kingdom at that time. The propaganda of Sambandhar was a very vigorous one. The reception accorded to the two saints in their pilgrimages was royal in character. ‘Do not listen to the Buddhists and Jains who condemn Siva who does not care for them. What do the Buddhists and Jains know? Before falling into their nets go and worship Siva. Be not misled by the sweet words of the tactful Jains. Their preaching and disputation are no good’—this is the strain of his propaganda and pages may be filled with quotations bearing on this theme.¹

Sambandhar's Mission—Result Persecution

The mission of Sambandhar was to revive Vedism and Saivism.² He was resolved to put down Buddhism and Jainism. To revive the sacrifices hated by them, to restore the prosperity of the Gods, Brahmans and cows³ and to re-establish the Saiva religion in all its glory—these were his cherished objects. He considered Saivism as the essence of the Vedas.⁴ He refers to Siva's triumphs over the Buddhists and Jains which, if properly understood, mean that there was religious persecution.⁵ The *Periyapurāna* speaks of the

¹ *Tēv.*, i. 25, வெந்து ; i. 34, செதுநுகர் ; i. 37, குடு ; i. 70, முடுகு ; i. 88, அதையு ; ii. 50, சுதைக ; iii. 34, செந்து ; iii. 37, சுவரு ; iii. 82, செதுக்கானதைக . The tenth stanza of Sambandhar's hymns contains his imprecations against the Jains and Buddhists.

² *Tēv.*, ii. 58, ஸுவரு ; ii. 67 ஸுவரு ; iii. 136 ஸுவரு ; Also *Periya.*, ii. 1, 14, 15, 171 and 241. The page references are to *Tēvāram Stala Murai* (Choolai 1917) and *Periyapurānam* with சூர (1893).

³ *Tēv.*, iii. 67, வரதையாரு.

⁴ *Tēv.*, iii. 61, சுதைசிவதிருப்பதை.

⁵ *Tēv.*, iii. 121, இதைபுது—செந்துதைபு செத்து, iii. 123 செல் செதுதை—ஏதுமஶ்சமந் தெத்துது ; iii. 125, விதமிலை—புதுதெலுமாத்துத்துது ; iii. 126, முதுகு—ஏட்டுமாதுதெலுமாத்துத்துது ; iii. 144 ஸுவரு—செதுதெலுமாத்துத்துது ; v. 107, ஜுறையாததி—ஜுருத் சுவரு மதுக்கினுது. This is a reference to a different incident in the life of Appar but points to religious persecution equally well. Instances are not wanting of fanatical outbursts of kings like Mahēndra and Kūn who built temples to Siva with the materials of destroyed Jain temples. The Chōla kings referred to in Appar's *Palayarai* (*ஸுவ சாப*) miracle and *Thandi Purāna* took to persecution, expulsion of the Jains and destruction of Jain temples. The above lines from *Tēvāram* read with the *Purāna* of Sēkkilār will convince every one that the latter is not fanciful or fictitious.

impaling of 8,000 Jains from the eight hills of Pandya. The lines quoted below convey the same impression of a colossal tragedy. These hymns of Sambandhar are declared by himself to be sacred, and Sekkilär calls them a part of the written or the Tamil Vēdas¹ and learning them by rote will give salvation.

CHAPTER III —BUDDHISM AND JAINISM FROM EPIGRAPHICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES

Epigraphy and Archeology come to the support of our contention that before the age of Sambandhar, first Buddhism and then Jainism had obscured Brahmanism.

The Brahmi inscriptions

The earliest inscriptions that we have in the Tamil country are the Brahmi inscriptions of the third century B.C. K V Subramania Iyer has very ingeniously deciphered them in a paper read before the Oriental Conference held in 1924.² It is unnecessary to give a catalogue of all the places³ in Pandya which have beds cut in the rocks and inscriptions by their side. The nature of the remains which resemble those of Ceylon and a few words in the inscriptions themselves suggest their Buddhist origin. The inscriptions record the names of those who made the monasteries and caves and those who caused them to be made. They reveal the close relations between Ceylon and Pandya as a husbandman of Ceylon is mentioned in the Tiruparangunram inscription. At Kalugumalai, a stone excavation was made for a relic chamber at the instance of the glorious chief Sri Yaksha. At Arittappatti, Yakshasiti, the daughter of a citizen of Velladai caused a cave to be cut for the benefit of the Bhiksus Vēnādu (Travancore), Ettiyur (Ettiyāpuram), Madirai (Madura), Tittai (Tanjore District), Podinur (Coimbatore District) some of the places of the donors or architects, convey to us the impression that throughout the Tamil country there were a few Buddhists then, though there were more in Pandya due to its proximity to Ceylon. The image of Buddha found at Tenkarai is only one of many such excavated in Tiruchendur Taluk.⁴

Jainism in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries

Jainism became supreme in Pandya on the decline of Buddhism. According to *Periyapurānam*, Jainism increased in Pandya during the rule of Vaduga-karnātas who have been identified with the Kalabhras by Epigraphists. Murthi Nayanan gave the first blow to Jainism there by his resistance to the King. There is a hymn⁵ by Sambandhar who destroyed Jainism in Pandya, in which he refers with contempt to the Jain monks of Anaimalai and the neighbouring hills. Sandusēna, Indusēna, Dharmasēna, Kandusēna, Kanaka-

¹ *Periya*, i 667, ii 56 and 85

² *Proceedings*, p 275

³ Information is scattered in *M A R*, 1913-14 p 6 1915, p 86, etc., and *M E R* 1907, p 60 1910, pp 76-80, 1912, p 57, etc.

⁴ *M A R*, 1916-17, p 1, *Ind Ant*, vol iv, p 272

⁵ vi, 50, *Sekkilär, araiCartalp*

sēna, Kanakanandi, Pushpanandi, pavanar the Jain leaders of Kunakanandi and Thivananandi were some of them, he refers to the Pāndya in the seventh century. In another hymn,² was *Asti-nasti* the numberless Jains of Madura.¹ Their doctrine indefinite 'Is, Is not'.

Later Pāndya Jainism

So Sēkkilār³ is not wrong in describing Pāndhar, there were up to Jainism. Even after the time of Samerred to by Sundara⁴ well-known Jain teachers in Pāndya who are reflections⁵ assignable to (ninth century A.D.) and the *Vetteluttu* inscriptions⁶, Karmavīra and the eighth and ninth centuries. Nanānanda's hymn, while, Dharmasēna are the only Jain teachers in Su AJjānandi mentioned Gunasēna, president of the Kilakudi monastery, Kanakivīra, thrice in Pāndya inscriptions of the eighth century, Indrasēna, Mallisēna, Gunavīra, Māganandi, Abhinandi, Puvvānandi, Ition in the *Vetteluttu* Gunamathiyār, mother of Ajjānandi, first men I Chōla, there was a inscriptions.⁶ As late as the time of Paiāntakailappakkam⁷ and in big Jain centre in Pāndya in and round Vhave been found in Kurandi⁸. The Jain images reported to Ramnad⁹ tend to confirm our conclusions¹⁰.

Ceylon

Ceylon which had close relations with the mainland from which missionaries came to Pāndya in early times and which was often invaded by Tamil kings must have always had a small Tamil population devoted to their old Gods. In days of Asoka, it is has been known to be Buddhist from the seventh century. curious to note two Siva temples in Kēdesvaram, the latter Sambandhar has sung on Trincomalee and Kū Mahādeva temple¹⁰ called Māthottam by Sundara. Rājarājēsvarar¹¹ the Saivas has been evidently built by Rājarāja I for the benefit of found at Kēdesvaram.

Malabar and Kēngu

The present Malabar country was a part of Tamil Nādu even as late as the day of Chēramai, the Saiva saint (ninth century) who sang in Tamil. No place in Malabar was¹² sung by Appar or Sambandhar and Sundara has sung of only ongest number of Saiva the early revival in Chōla which had the lar-

Tamil Nādu even as (ninth century) who

¹ iii. 64, சூவர், தெப்பக்கு.

² iii. 5(3, முத்திராத்து).

³ Periya., ii, 234-36. ⁴ vii. 4 pp. 76-80; 1912, p. 57;

⁵ M.A.R., 1899, July 22, p. 2; M.E.R., 1910, 1916, p. 112; 1909, pp. 68-74.

⁶ In the Panchapāndavamalai and Vallimalai (Nāndi in contempt = Suna inscriptions (eighth century ?), Nāganandi (= Nāyanātteluttu inscription, pupil kanandi ?) mentioned in 58 of 1894 in Kalugunālai Ve Bālachandra, and Dēva of Simhanandi, Ajjānandi, pupil of Gōvardhana alias spined (Ep. Ind., vol. iv, sēna, pupil of Bhavanandi the Bāna Guru are mentioned 1915, p. 100.

⁷ M.E.R., 1900, p. 8.

⁸ Ibid. R., 1913, p. 96.

⁹ M.A.R., 1914-15, p. 6.

¹⁰ M.E.

temples during the age. The archaeological remains in Travancore bear eloquent testimony to the long prevalence of Buddhism and Jainism there. Some of the Buddhist remains have been washed away by the sea near Sri Mülavasa¹. It had a celebrated Buddhist temple referred to in an early Gandharan sculpture epigraph as well as in *Mūshikavamsa*. Buddhist images have been found in plenty in several Taluks. An inscription of Varaguna (ninth century) invokes the Buddha, Dharma and Sangha, while another of his time records in a Jain temple the votive images by Tamils from the Tamil land. Jaina images have been found in several places. In British Malabar, Palghat and Sultan Battery have Jain temples still².

Kongu (Coimbatore and Salem Districts) shared the same fate as Malabar though a few Saiva shrines existed there in the seventh century. Four of them have been sung by Sambandhar.

Jain figures whose dates are uncertain are reported to have been found in Vijayamangalam (Coimbatore District)³ and Dharmapuri and Adigamankottai (Salem District)⁴.

From this brief survey of Buddhism and Jainism in the age of Sambandhar, we can easily realize the importance of and the reason for the beginning of the revival in the Chola land which produced the great boy-missionary Sambandhar⁵. The star of Saivism rose in Chola and spread its light rapidly throughout the country.

Chola

The largest number of temples 153 have been sung by Sambandhar in Chola Nadu. Ninety-nine were on the south and fifty four on the north bank of the Kaveri, and a few more are mentioned in his *Kshetrakkōvar*⁶. Karaikkal Pēy, Mulan⁷ and Chandi assigned to early times by tradition kept alive the Saiva faith. Chengan of the fourth century A.D. built a number of temples to Siva and it is likely that other Cholas also did the same. Otherwise, we cannot explain how such a large number of temples were found by Sambandhar, some of them very old in his time.

Tiruvalanjuli,⁸ four miles from Kumbakonam (S I Ry.) has three hymns by Sambandhar and two by Appar. Within a radius of ten miles from Kumhakonam, there are about a dozen *Kshetras*. Archaeology has brought to light a Jain figure in the second entrance to the Siva temple and a large roughly carved figure of a standing Buddha in Tiruvalanjuli. The existence of a Jain colony at Palayalai⁹ near Kumbakonam is mentioned by Appar.

¹ *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. i, part 12, vol. ii, part 2

² *M A R*, 1910-11, pp. 30 and 32

³ *Ibid.*, 1896 July 21, p. 2, 1910-11, p. 29, 1919-20, p. 7

⁴ *M E R*, 1911, p. 5

⁵ *Periya* ii, *CēdēGop* சூரபாலு ஏதுதோ சுரும்புக்கே
உறிசுமையை ஏதுவுமையை

⁶ *Tēv*, ii 47, *GāpatīCāraṇa*, iv 98, *Ibid.*, vi 99, திருக்கடை

⁷ According to *Periyapurānam*, the spirit of Mular a northern Yogi entered into the body of the shepherd of Sūthanur. Like the Pariah Tiruvalluvar, this shepherd Mular was an exception in his community.

⁸ *M A R*, 1912-13, p. 68, 1918-19, p. 7

⁹ *Tēv*, v 106, ஏப்பு-பெ.

Remarkable Confirmation of Tēvāram

Ours is an old land with its history buried under the earth. The truth of the denunciations of Sambandhar in every place that he visited is proved by these unexpected arachæological finds. A large stone image of Buddha in the contemplating attitude with curly hair, top-knot, etc. with an old inscription has been found near Manganallur (S.I.Ry.), at Perunjēri,¹ while Kōttappādi² near Ambagarathur (S. I. Ry.) has an image of Buddha. There is an image of Buddha from the village of Elaiyur (Nannilam Taluk) in the Madras Museum. What do these prove? We know that Buddhism did not progress after the early centuries of the Christian era and Jainism after the seventh century. So is it not presumable that the bulk of these remains are pre-Sambandha? In and round Perunjēri and Kōttappādi, there are Saiva temples sung by Sambandhar. In his Meeyachur (Pēralam, S.I.Ry.) hymn³ Appar refers to Buddhist and Jaina temples existing there. At Thalichēri near Kōttappādi, Sambandhar had a controversy with Sāribuddha and Buddhanandi, the Buddhist leaders.⁴ At Puhār, twelve miles from Shiyali (S.I.Ry.), the birth-place of the boy-saint, two temples are sung by Sambandhar who as usual denounced the Buddhists and Jains living there. From an unexpected source, Buddha-datta,⁵ we learn that there were Buddhist *Vihāras* there and a Kalāmba (=Kalabhra ?) probably a Jain ruling Chola in the fifth century A.D. There are strong proofs that Nāgēsvaram⁶ (S.I. Ry.) had a Jain temple, and Jain sculptures have been picked up in the fields.

The large Leyden grant mentions Rājarāja Perumballi and the small Leyden grant of Kulottunga I mentions Rājendra-Perumballi at Negapatam⁷ (S. I. Ry.) in Tanjore District, Buddhist temples which must have gathered a Buddhist population round them. Negapatam as a Buddhist centre was much older. Tirumangai Alwar (eighth century A.D.) carried away the golden image of the Buddha from the place for repairing the Srirangam temple. Nagai Kārōnam, so called after Kayārōhana in the north, had Buddhists and Jains in the seventh century according to Sambandhar. The tradition is that Mahēndra embarked to Ceylon from Negapatam, and from long before Asoka, it kept up relations with the Naga islands in the ocean. So in the time of the later Chōlas there was but a renewal of the ancient Nāga-Buddhist intercourse between Nāgapuram (Java) and Nāgai. Sanbandhar has sung on a few temples round Tirutturaipūndi (S.I.Ry.) near which there was probably a Jain settlement as late as the thirteenth century.⁸

¹ M.A.R., 1912-13, p. 75.

² Ibid.

³ Tēv., v. 13, செப்புக்கூர்த்தினபலாநாமாசாஷ்ட.

⁴ Periya., ii. 333-44. The Buddhists of the place were defeated and converted.

⁵ Mythic Society Journal, vol. xvi, part 2, p. 98n. See also his works *Abhidharmāvatāra* and *Vinayavavinichaya*, Introd., Pali Text Society Publication. Excavations at Puhār are bound to bring to light some at least of the inscribed (in Brahmi ?) tombs of *Manimekkalai* and remains of the *Viharas* noted by Buddhadatta.

⁶ S.I., vol. iii, No. 91; M.E.R., 1912, pp. 7 and 62.

⁷ M.E.R., 1899.

⁸ Ibid., 1913, p. 112.

Tiruvārūr (S I Ry) according to Sēkkilar was full of Jains before the time of Sambandhar in the time of Naminandi¹. Even now there are a few Jains near the place who claim to have been there for long.

The Jaina images and Jaina street in Jayankondacholapuram,² and the Jaina figures at Pēttavarthalai³ and the Jain remains in Mahadānpuram,⁴ Annavasal and Vellaiur⁵ in Trichinopoly District prove the prevalence of Jainism round those places probably from Tēvaram days.

The Nadu Nādu

Like Tanjore, Chingleput and Kanara, the Nadu Nādu, has still a small Jain population. We need not doubt its existence there from the pre-Tēvaram days. Patalika (modern Cuddalore, S I Ry) had a monastery in which the Jain work *Lokavibhāga* was written in Saka 380, the twenty-second year of Pallava Simhavarman of Kānchi.⁶ The same monastery is referred to by Sēkkilar in the *Purana* of Appar.⁷ In the hymns of Sambandhar and Appar on temples round about Pataliputra, there are innumerable references to Jains. This city according to Sēkkilar was near Tiruvadhibigai or Tiruvādhī⁸ so famous in Appar's biography as the temple of *Gunadharesvaram* was built there by his king, persecutor and then disciple Mahēndra alias *Gunadhara*.

Tirunātharkunru near the famous Gingee, Sirukadambur, Tirumala⁹ and Vallimalai, Vengunram and Tirrakol have Jain remains.⁹ Images of Tirthāṅkaras from North Arcot District are found in the Madras Museum. Even as late as the thirteenth century, we hear of a small Buddhist population in Tiruchopuram near Alappakkam (S.I Ry) from an inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya. The place had a Saiva temple on which there is a hymn of Sambandhar who, as usual, denounces the Buddhists and Jains there.¹⁰ Does not this vivid picture of the dominant religion of the seventh century show the greatness of the work of the first two Saiva saints?

The Tondai Nadu

The Tondai Nadu had the great Buddhist and subsequent Jain centre, Kānchi, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus. Manimekalai was initiated into Buddhism and her Guru Aravana of Puhār gave her discourses on the religion there. Hiuen tsang says that Kānchi was as old a Buddhist centre as Buddha himself.¹¹

¹ *Periya*, i, 671 and 674, ii 617

² *M A R* 1908-9 p 20

³ *Ibid*, 1903-4, p 90

⁴ *Ibid* 1908-9, p 32

⁵ *Ibid*, 1909 10, p 19, *M E R*, 1913

⁶ The first Saka date and the first definite date in S India History *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1909-10

⁷ *Periya*, ii 464, 469

⁸ *M E R*, 1921-22, p 99

⁹ *M A R*, 1895, July 23, p 5, 1910-11 p 81 1916-17, p 6, 1918-19 p 7, *M E R*, 1887, p 2

¹⁰ *Teti*, i 67

¹¹ *Beal*, vol ii, p 229

Two Chōla kings of the Sangham age built Buddhist *vihāras* there according to the epic.¹

Some Buddhist images were found out in Kāmākshi temple in a short time by Mr. T. A. Gopinātha Rao.² Out of the five images, two were within the temple. One of them is now in the Madras Museum. Jain figures³ also are reported to exist in the second *prākāra* of the same temple. A Jaina image was found on the road to Big Kānchi.⁴ The influence of the Buddhist *vihāras* on the style of building can be clearly seen even to-day in the style of the Vaikuntaperumāl temple⁵ which is designed after them.

Round Kānchi, there is a bumper crop of materials to establish the prevalence of the Jaina faith in olden days. As in the Northern Circars so in Tamil Nādu, the Jains, and then the Hindus, established themselves in Buddhist buildings⁶ on the decline of Buddhism somewhere about the fifth century A.D. So, we have very few Buddhist remains. At Tirupparuthikunru and near it, there are Jain temples. At Ārpakkam a Jain temple, at Ārperumbākkam and Vishār mutilated Jain images, at Siruvākkam an early Jaina grant, at Ānandamangalam three groups of Jaina images with an inscription of Parāntaka I, at Uttaramērur a stone image of a Jain preacher in the Vishnu temple, at Punadagai the foundations of a Jain temple and two large Jaina idols—these remains are reported from Kānchi Taluk.⁷ Near some of these is found a small Jaina population even now, but the remains are distinctly old. Their existence in such large numbers points to their origin in the hey-day of Jainism. Near the last place Punadagai is Tiruvāthur noticed by Sewell in his lists and reported by the epigraphist as containing traditions of the persecution of the Jains by the Saivas who demolished the Jain temple and built their own with those materials. In the Saiva temple, it is said, a palmyra tree is sculptured. According to Sēkkilār,⁸ Sambandhar performed a miracle at Tiruvōthur in Tondai as a result of which male palmyras began to yield⁹ and after which the Jains of the place ran away (or, were driven out?) At Tirumāgaral sung by Sambandhar, there are two Jaina images in Adipatta Alaghār Koil.¹⁰ In the Madras Museum there are a Jaina image discovered at Villivākkam (M.S.M. Ry.) and a Buddhist image discovered at Kūvam. This Kūvam was called Tiruvirkōlam¹¹ by Sambandhar who has left a hymn on the temple there. In the hymn, the place is also called Kūham and Siva

¹ So, with Karikāla who goldplated the Kānchi (Siva?) temple, (*M.E.R.*, 1909, p. 87), there were three Chōlas who held sway over Tondai in the Sangham age. There is no place for three foreign kings after the Pallavas began to rule over Kānchi.

² *Ind. Ant.*, 1915, p. 127.

³ *M.A.R.*, 1898, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 38.

⁶ தெ அரங்கம் பூஷம் மறவு and தெப்பகாலி வத்துமரங்கிலைம் are reminiscent of Buddhist and Jain associations.

⁷ *M.E.R.*, 1922-23, p. 128. *M.E.R.*, 1924, p. 6.

⁸ *Periya.*, ii. 364.

⁹ I understand that this strange phenomenon or freak takes place even without a miracle!

¹⁰ *M.A.R.*, 1897, July 20, p. 4. *M.E.R.*, 1923, p. 4. The Jain temple there is called Adi-Bhattaraka temple.

¹¹ *Tēv.*, iii. 29-30.

is praised in it as the revealer of *Āgamas* also besides the usual *Vedas* and *Angas*.¹ Remarkably enough the saint finishes his hymn with the words that Siva gives plenty to his devotees who do not heed the preaching of Jains and Buddhists.² There were Buddhists and Jains in Mylapore in Samhandhar's day.³ As late as A.D. 754 Akalanka, a well-known Jain teacher, is said to have defeated the Buddhists at Kānchi at Hēmasitala's court.⁴

These plentiful Jaina remains should not blind us to the fact that Kānchi had early Saiva associations. Buried *lingas* were discovered in Tondai as early as the time of Sundara.⁵ Karikāla, no Buddhist or Jain, covered the temple at Kānchi with gold.⁶ Some of the old Saiva saints like Sākkiyan who was afraid of professing his faith on account of the great popularity of Buddhism and some of the early Vaishnava Ālwars belonged to Tondaimandalam.

CHAPTER IV — THE INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

The Bhakti Cult

The influence of Buddhism and Jainism on the *Bhakti* movement has already been indicated. The new Brahmanism incorporated in itself some of the essentials of the former and thus bridged the way for the absorption of the Buddhists and the Jains. It was a popular movement and expressed itself in the popular tongue. It saw no difference of caste or sex and embraced all to its bosom as the anti-Vēdic religions had done before. Sacrifices, Vēdic and un-Vēdic, decreased in number and rituals were set at nought. Spontaneous and untrammelled devotion to the cause of all whose existence was ignored or denied by the *Arahadika* religions flowed like the waters of a hitherto dammed torrent, and swept away the yellow-robed custodians of the latter who had fallen victims to sophistry and hair-splitting argumentation and become the butt of Mahendra's ridicule⁷ and swerved from the path trodden by the Enlightened One into the popular path of worship.⁸ But, as is the

¹ Cf. *Tev*, vi 92, *et seqq.*

தேவ சூரிய வித்தாபு சூரிய வித்தாபு
தேவ சூரிய வித்தாபு.

Note that the two are mentioned separately.

² Saiva literature mentions six sections of *Thēvar* (= Sthāvira?) Sthāvira was popular in the south.

³ *Periya*, ii 402

⁴ M.E.R., 1905, p. 57 Probably this *Hemasitala* was *Hiranyakarman*, father of Nandivarman Pallavamalla

⁵ vii. 92, *தெவாநாத*

⁶ He is credited by Sēkkilār with having peopled and walled Kānchi, the ancient city, and thus placed in very early times

⁷ See Mahendravarman I's *Mallavildasprahasana* (Triv. Skt. Series)

⁸ Relic and tomb worship, the placing of gold flowers, etc., in the relic casket, the reverencing of the symbols like the Poot-prints, the chakra, and the flaming *trisula* pillar, Tree and Serpent worship were not new to Buddhism. To this system was now added the image of Buddha as Lord. The philosophy which expounded the need for such a coping stone to the edifice of Buddhism could easily lend its support to the revival of the old and once popular cults of Siva and Vishnu

case with all popular movements, the *Bhakti* movement carried within itself the seed for decline. In the face of a common foe it stood for the freedom and equality of all its members. But victory cooled the ardour and led to disintegration and restrictions,

Saivism Softened

The Mahayāna has been said to have evolved as a result of the reaction of the popular temple and image worship on Hinayāna. Thus the Mahayāna led on to the Saiva and Vaishnava revival, the centre of which was a graceful God giving salvation to people devoted to Him. The system of sacrifices to Gods received a rude though not fatal blow as a result of contact with Buddhism and Jainism the central tenet of which was self-control of which *Ahimsa* was the first manifest expression. The horrible aspects of Siva and *Sakti* worship were softened partly by Aryanism and partly by the un-Vēdic religions. The *Bali-pītam* remained but unstained by blood. The aspect of Siva as a *Yogi* and *Guru* was presumably emphasized by the example of Buddha. The most excellent and important feature of the two new religions or schisms as they may better be called, was their monasteries where irrespective of caste or sex the unending pursuit of Knowledge was carried on. From this height of *Dipāladūma* (mound of light) literally and metaphorically, what a fall to *Lanjadibba* and *Bhogandūnidibba* (the mound of the dancing girl) used to-day to designate Buddhist mounds in the Telugu country, all on account of their degeneracy into *Vajrayana Tantrism*.

Architecture

The influence of Buddhism is seen at its best in architecture and sculpture. Siva captured many Buddhist shrines. So early, thorough and quick was the revival in the Tamil districts that very few Buddhist and Jaina buildings of the ancient times have come down to us. Besides, they were also built with easily perishable materials like timber and brick. But, in the Circars the two religions flourished longer and their extant relics are more abundant and useful in tracing the various links in the evolution of Indian religion and fine arts.

There are two Hindu temples in the Circars of the Kapōtēswara temple at Chezrala¹ and the temple at Peddakanchērla² which show their Buddhist origin. Siva has captured Jain shrines at Dhānuvalapādu.³ It is quite likely that the same thing happened in the south also.

The Buddhist style of building can be traced in the various styles found now in South India.⁴ And the sculptures of the Buddha's deeds and donative inscriptions in the rails of the *Tōpes* must have inspired the execution of similar things by the other religionists.

¹ M.A.R., 1889, April 30, p. 13.

² Ibid., 1894, July 10, p. 1.

³ Ibid., 1903-4, p. 26.

⁴ Ibid., 1915-16, p. 28; see post part iii, chap. vi.

A cursory study of the Buddhist structural buildings at Guntapalli in Ellore Taluk reveals the architectural style in the early centuries of the Christian era and the profound influence such buildings must have had in the evolution of South Indian temples¹. In the Madras Museum may be seen to day some of the Buddhist sculptures of Jaggayyapēta. In one slab there is a shrine with towers. Inside the shrine are the feet of the Buddha. Two women are seen near them with vessels and one with her hands in the *anjali* pose. This may be assigned to about A D 300. This gives us a glimpse into one of the sources for later Brahmanical architecture and worship. In the same place may be seen another slab with the Buddha on a lotus sheltered by the *Bō* tree and attended by a fairy, a five hooded snake and a devotee. There is also a *stupa* by the side. There is an inscription by Nāgarjuna's disciple's disciple. This gives us a glimpse into the fact that Buddhism came to adopt the primitive Tree and Serpent Worship. Just like the Buddha in the slab, there were many *Lingas* in days of yore under trees, the later *Sthalavrikshas*, attended and guarded by a *Naga* or Nagas.

PART III —TAMIL TEMPLES

CHAPTER I —THE EARLY CENTURIES OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

The Dolmen

There are no remains of Brahmanical temples in the Tamil country before the seventh century A D, the age of the *Seven Pagodas*. But, literature and epigraphy point to the existence of a large number of temples before that period. It has been said that Gods and Goddesses were first sheltered under trees and only subsequently temples were erected for them. The earliest extant buildings are the Dolmens, the places of the dead. They were built in the style of the houses of those days, after which temples must have been constructed.

Koyil

¹ *Koyil* is a pure Tamil word. It conveys the fact that the Tamils built temples themselves and did not borrow the idea. It literally means the King's house and indicates the origin and style of the early Tamil temples². Be that as it may, the example of the *stupas* and *vihāras* and images of Buddha erected and reverenced by the Buddhists must have influenced the other religionists in the same direction. And there are traces of Buddhism in Pandya from the third century B C.

¹ *M A R* 1916-17, pp 30-36

² Cf *Tev*, iv 51 *Murug* *yantra* *Carrollation*

Temples in 'Sangham Literature'

The hymn on *Muruga* in 'the Sangham collection' called *The Ten Idylls* mentions Tirupparankunram, Tiruchendur, Tiruāvinankudi and Tiruvēragam, as his abodes. *Silappadikaram*, *Manimekalai* and *Paripādal* mention many Vaishnava and Skanda shrines. Vēnkatam, Srīrangam, Tirumālirunjōlai and Tiruvekka, are very old shrines of Vishnu. Vēnkatam was probably a Muruga shrine at first, or a shrine for both Siva and Vishnu from the beginning between whom the ancient people did not discriminate so invidiously as now. The names *Vrishasaila* and *Sēshasaila* meaning Bull-hill and Snake-hill respectively are used as synonyms of Tirupati.¹ Moreover, an early Vaishnava Ālwar Pēy sings thus :

எப்போட்டியும் சீர்முடியும் சுன்முகாலம் சென்று
குருவும் வூர்த்தியும் தோன்றுமான்—குழும்
தென்டுறைபாயும் குருமலை வேஷ்ணத்தெடு
இரண்டுருவு மென்று விளைந்து.

The *Epic of the Anklet* mentions Siva fanes in the chapter on Indra festival. And the *Jewel-belt* includes Saivism as one of the well-known systems. *Kumari* is mentioned by Ptolemy (A.D. 150) whose temple is therefore very old. This form of *Sakti* was worshipped by the *Mahēsvarus*. The building of temples to *Pattini-Devi* and the consecration ceremonies for her image dealt with in the first Epic tell us that the people were familiar with temple-building, image-worship, and the invocation of spirits in stone figures. It may be mentioned in passing that *Virokals* with images of the heroes and short inscriptions used to be set up as early as the age of *Tolkāppiyam*. So, working in stone familiar to early Buddhists was ancient in Tamilakam.

Temples in the Seventh Century

From about the latter half of the seventh century, we have a collection of Tamil hymns, known as *Tēvāram* or garland of God. The first two who sang them are assigned to the middle of the seventh century and the third to the ninth century. The hymns of the first two, Sambandhar and Appar, tell us of the existence of many Saiva temples in the Tamil country in their time. Thus, Appar goes to the extent of saying that the place which had no temple was a mere forest.² Since all these temples could not have come into existence at the same time, their age must be spread over a number of centuries. Some of these temples are sung by Sambandhar as old, while he has not sung about the newly erected Pallava structures. The Pallavas' new shrines were not so sacred in the eyes of our saints. So far as we know, there has not been a single Buddhist or Jain Chōla, and except Kūn Pāndya, history knows no other Jain or Buddhist Pāndya. So these Tamil temples, must have been raised by those native dynasties and thus acquired peculiar sanctity.

¹ H. Krishna Sastri, *ante*, p. 62n.

² vi. 130, ஸ்ரீ-திருக்கோவலில்வரத திருவிளாம் அடவிர்க்கு.

CHAPTER II --THE AGE OF CHENGAN

Chengan, the Chola king, was a great devotee of Siva. A Vaishnava saint of the eighth century Tirumangai, praises his building activity.

திருக்கிளைகு திருமூலப்பிலா சென்டீர் எஃப்
கெம்பி மாட்டம் ஏழுபத்தெடு நல்லமாய்த்
திருக்குவத்து வார்ஸே ரம்பு

(പെരിയട്ടിക്കുമാർത്തി)

He is one of the Sixty-three Saiva saints and is mentioned by Sambandhar and Appar¹ several times who narrate in their hymns, the story of his birth. It must have taken a long time for such legends to grow round him and pass into popular currency in the time of the saints.

Poirier

Chengan was a contemporary of Poigaiyar, author of *Kalavali* *Narpatu*,² one of the so called 'Sangham poems'. The piece was sung by the poet in order to please Chengan and make him release the poet's patron, a Chera king. In it, the bloody battle between the two is said to have been fought at Kalumalam.³

Cheng'an a Great King

Tirumangai calls Chengan a victor at Venni and Alunda (in Tanjore District). He also calls him overlord of the earth and ruler of Pandi, Kudagu and Kongu, and lord of Tamil and Northern country.⁴ Sundara speaks of him as the king who ruled as a Pandya.⁵ Sekkilar calls Chengan an emperor.⁶ *Kalingalluppārami*, a Tamil poem of the twelfth century refers to Chengan's war with the Chera and the poem of Poigai.⁷ These eulogies belong to a considerably later period than Chengan's. Nevertheless, they show

² Tev II 29 ~~September~~ IV 61, Germany

² *Ind Ant*, vol xvi, p 262

³ ~~and Am., Vol. XXV, p. 222~~ in the piece must be taken to refer to the death of the Chera though tradition and all later accounts are against this view.

சுவாமி வைத்திரி கூறவே சுற்பு
 முன்னால் வீட்டிற் சூரி எட்டாகூர
 ஓயவைச் செல்லாதே செல்லுதோற்
 திருநூற்று வீட்டிற்கு செல்லுதோற்
 திருநூற்று வீட்டிற்கு செல்லுதோற்
 முன்னால் வீட்டிற்கு செல்லுதோற்
 திருநூற்று வீட்டிற்கு செல்லுதோற்
 திருநூற்று வீட்டிற்கு செல்லுதோற்
 திருநூற்று வீட்டிற்கு செல்லுதோற்
 திருநூற்று வீட்டிற்கு செல்லுதோற்

Городской Округ

⁶ *Pertya*, II 824, "ତେଜମନ୍ତ୍ରରୁ ଦୀପିକାରୀରୁ ।
⁷ "ଲୋକଙ୍କ ଅଧିକରଣରୁ, ଧାରାକରଣରୁ
 ଏହାରୁ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା "St. 184

how he has passed into tradition as a great valiant and pious emperor.

Date—before or after Karikāla?

Early Sangham literature does not mention him, though the later Sangham piece *Kalavatinarpatu* describes his exploits (fourth century A.D.?). There is however a piece by Nakkitar in the Eleventh *Tirumurai*, where he praises Siva as having made a spider king, referring to the story of Chengan. But this has been declared to be a later piece.¹ The piece in *Purandarai*² which contains a hint about Chengan was one of the many fugitive pieces collected at a later period. So from literary evidence, this great hero cannot be placed in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era.

One of the later Chōla inscriptions³ places him before Karikāla and *Kalingattupparani*⁴ also does the same. But, both are very late authorities. Two inscriptions⁵ of the later Chōlas place Chengan after Karikāla. The *Vikramachōla*, *Kulottungachōla* and *Sankarachōla* *ulas* also place him after Karikāla.⁶ But these also are equally late authorities.

Chengan's Perunkoyils

The great work that Chengan did for the cause of Saivism, namely, the building of temples, epoch-making though it was, does not help us in fixing his date which must lie somewhere between Karikāla and Sambandhar. Tirumangai sings of his having built about seventy temples to Siva, and he has built some temples to Vishnu also. Probably, he placed Siva and Vishnu in the same temples as even now you find at Tillai. Such a tolerant spirit was characteristic of the early Saiva and Vaishnava saints. His temples to Siva were known as *Perunkoyil* or *Mādakkoyil*, i.e., storeyed temples. They had a top portion which resembled an elephant in its lying posture, i.e., they had long domes⁷ in which can be traced the influence of the Buddhist style. The reason why his temples were called big or storeyed temples is not apparent. But, it is quite likely that the temples before his time were small or *Ilankoyil*. In the *Tēvaram*, some of the temples are distinctly referred to as his. Nannilam, not sung by Sambandhar or Appar but mentioned by Appar, is called the temple of Chengan in a hymn of Sundarar.⁸ Sambandhar mentions Chengan as the builder of the temples at Ambar,⁹ Thandalainīneri,¹⁰ and Vaigal.¹¹

¹ Kanakasabai, *ante.*, p. 197n.

² No. 74.

³ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, part ii. p. 153.

⁴ *Eph. Ind.* vol. xviii, p. 27. The *Parati* places him a little later than the Bhārata war.

⁵ *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, part iv, *Tiruvālangādu* pl.; *Eph. Ind.*, vol. xv. p. 46.

⁶ *Eph. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 27.

⁷ K. V. Subramania Iyer, *Sketches of the Deccan*, vol. i, p. 187.

⁸ *Tēv.*, vii. 129, சென்னியு (S.I. Ry.).

⁹ iii. 24, அம்புத near Nallāru (S.I. Ry.)

¹⁰ iii. 63, செஞ்சலை தேர்மீறு, fifteen miles south of Tiruvārur (S.I. Ry.)

¹¹ iii. 23, வெள்ளூர். Near Tiruvidamarudar (S.I. Ry.)

Sambandhar calls the temples at Pennāgadam,¹ Kudavāyil,² Kilvēlur³ and Shiyāli⁴ as *Perunkōyil*. He calls the temple at Akkūr⁵ an old temple and a Mādakkōyil which appeared of its own accord in other words, the *linga* of which was *Svayambhu* instances of which are plentiful. Tradition is strong that Anakka near Tirangam had a *linga* under a *jumboo* tree in the time of Chengan who built a temple for it.⁶

Chengan before Simhavishnu

When could such a tolerant and great temple-builder and powerful conqueror and ruler have lived? In the present state of our knowledge, no such powerful Chōla could have lived after Simhavishnu Pallava (A D 590) who defeated the Chola, Pandya and Kalabhras.⁷ No Chōla could have been ruler or Pandya in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era as the Pāndya kings are referred to in foreign and Tamil literatures, and the succession of Chēra and Pāndya overlordship after the age of Karikāla must have taken at least 200 years. So, we must find a place for Chengan between the Pāndyan of Talaiyālanganam⁸ and Simhavishnu.

Before Achyuta Vikrama Kalamba

The Kalabhras were in occupation of Pāndya between King Palyāgasalai and King Kadungon, roughly for about two centuries according to the Vēlvikudi grant (eighth century). According to Sēkkilār (eleventh century), in the time of Murthi (probably before Kūn, seventh century) the *Vaduga-Karnāta* was in occupation of Pāndya. The Karnātas were Jains according to Nambi, Sēkkilār and Umapathi. In the fifth century A D a *Kalamba* Achyuta Vikrama, contemporary of Buddhadatta who mentions him, was ruler of Chōla.⁹ In the Chalukya and Pallava inscriptions,¹⁰ the Kalabhras are located somewhere near the Kēralas. In the Kadamba inscriptions,¹¹ some of the early Kadambas are said to have defeated the Pallava and the southern kings. So, it is very difficult to decide if the Kalabhras or Kalamba is to be equated with Kalava (= Kallar) or Kadamba.¹² Either way, Chengan could not

¹ 75 குடவாயில், eleven miles south west of Vridāchelam (S I Ry.)

² II 27, கில்வெலூர் eight miles north of Koradacheri (S I Ry.)

³ II 134, கில்வெலூர் (S I Ry.) *ii 3, 1 32, 1 95, கில்வெலூர் (S I Ry.)

⁴ II 51 கில்வெலூர் (S I Ry.) *iv 61, கில்வெலூர்

⁵ S II, vol ii p 73, Nandivarman's Kasakudi PI

⁶ S. K. Iyengar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, ch vi

⁷ Myth Soc Jour vol xvi, part 2, p 98n Buddhadatta's works (Pall Text Soc) Introd, see ante

⁸ Ind Ant, vol ix, p 129 vn, p 303 Ep Ind vol v, p 204, S II vol ii, p 356 vol i p 152, M E R, 1908 p 65

⁹ M E R, 1908, p 65

¹⁰ There is a stone inscription in Pudukkottai State on a slab in a ruined sluice at Rāshāppatti of the time of Pallava Nandottaralar which mentions a Pullaya Kadamban. In some of the later inscriptions, 357 of 1906 and 337 of 1914, in Pudukkottai the name Kadambuvāyār occurs. That Telingas (Vadugas?) were once ruling there is established by 393 of 1904 which calls Nārthāmalai Telengakulakālapuram. If the Kalabhras of the Velvikudi plates

have ruled Chōla, Pāndya, etc., in the fifth century, the age of confusion (சௌபால், சௌபாஸ் !)

After Skanda Pallava : Kalidasa confirms it

So, neither the fifth nor the sixth century was the age of Chengan who was a great conqueror and ruler of Pāndya, according to the unerring testimony of Sundarar and Tirumangai. In the third century, a Pallava was king of Kānchi, the great Mahārāja Vijaya-skandavarman. His line seems to have ruled, or was associated with Kānchi till A.D. 350, the date of Vishnugōpa of Kānchi, a contemporary of the great Samudragupta. Now the Chōla power revived under Chengan. Since Puhār had been washed to some extent by tidal wave,¹ the Chōla who had his capital at Puhār had shifted to Uraiyyur. Sometime later, Chengan ruled not only over Chōla but also over Pāndya which latter fact has been specially mentioned by Sundarar. Is this not the reason why Kālidāsa mentions in his conquest of Raghu, which he possibly based upon the almost contemporary *digvijaya* of Samudragupta, only the Pāndya country in the Tamil land ? The poet mentions Pāndya next to Kalinga completely ignoring the Pallava. What is more curious is Kālidāsa mentions Uragapura as the Pāndya capital. Uragapura is Uraiyyur as we learn from the Gadwal plates² of Vikramaditya I. So Sundarar's praise of Chengan as one who ruled as a Pāndya either by right of conquest or inheritance by marriage is confirmed by various evidences.

If we take Tirumangai's statement seriously that Chengan was ruler of the north, then Chengan it was that drove the phantom Vishnugōpa of Kānchi from his capital, and re-established his rule in his ancestral province. This is another argument to show that the Pallava was an intruder in the Tamil land who was expelled to the north but who came again. Is this not the reason why the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates³ say that Kumāra Vishnu had to recapture Kānchi which had been lost by the Pallava during the rule of Chengan ? This Chōla interregnum was caused by Chengan and not Karikāla as Mr. Venkayya supposed.⁴

and so the Kalabhra Achyuta Vikrama are equated with the Vaduga-Karnātas of *Periyapurānam*, then they are properly located in the vicinity of Kērala. They seem to have swept over the Tamil land like a deluge before which the Pallava bowed for a time.

¹ *Manimekalai*.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. x, p. 100. Curiously enough the Pāndya capital also was called Snake-city (*M.E.R.*, 1908, p. 64). The shape of Madura was determined by a serpent called Ālavoy at the command of Siva. So the town was called Ālavoy or Hālāsyā.

³ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 45.

⁴ Mr. Kanakasabai and Dr. S. K. Iyengar have fixed the age of Karikāla in the early centuries. The foreign Pallavas powerful in the Deccan as officers of the Āndhras might have invaded Kānchi in Karikāla's reign thus bringing about the traditional war between the Chōla and a certain Trilōchana Pallava who is also referred to in Chālukyan and Telugu Chōla inscriptions as a very ancient ruler. After Karikāla, two other Chōlas and Tondamān the Young Tiraya a Chōlanāga ruled Tondai. Sometime after, the Pallava came again to permanently occupy Kānchi except for a short period in Chengan's reign. The names Kanda *Chaliki* (Chalukya) Kammnaka (Nāga) of the Hiramnaka

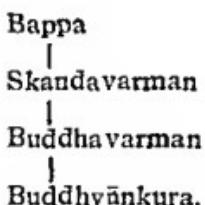
From another viewpoint, the age of Poigai, scholars have attempted to arrive at the age of his contemporary, Chengan. He is identified with the early Ālwar of the same name and assigned by tradition to a very early period. The age of the Ālwar was about the fourth century A.D.

Interregnum between No. 3 and No. 4

The following genealogical table has been arrived at for the Pallavas after a good deal of deliberation, in which provision has been made for the Chōla interregnum for about two decades. This table is only tentative.

1. Bappa - Kumāra Viśhau - Virakurcha m. a Nāga of Māvilaṅga	2. Skandavarman	3. Viśhnugōpa 340
Buddhavarman	4. Kumāra Viśhnu about 355-365	12. Viśravarman
Buddhyānkura	5. Buddhavarman	13. Skaadavarman
	6. Kumāra Viśhau	
	7. Simhavarman Ac. 435	14. Viśhnugōpa
	8. Skaadavarman	15. Simhavarman
	9. Nandivarman	16. Viśhnugōpa
	10. Simhavarman	17. Simhavarman 11. Simhavishnu.

The Prākrit grants of Mydavōlu,¹ Hirahadagalli² and Kandukūru³ give us,



About A.D. 340 Viśhnugōpa was king of Kānchi.⁴ We are entirely in the dark if Buddhavarman ever reigned and how Viśhnugōpa was related to the above members. It has been assumed in Part I that the first Pallava became king of Kānchi by marrying in the family

(Hiranyaka?) dynasty, Kanda *Sagaram* (Tirayar?) Nala of the *Pukya* clan (Chūtu kula?) in the recently excavated *Nāgārjunakonda* inscriptions open another wide field for speculation about the Chālukeyas, Nāgas and Pallavas, *M. E. R.*, 1927.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vi, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 143

⁴ Samudragupta's Allahabad Ins. . Gupta Ins

of the Māvilanga chief who succeeded to the Tamil traditions of patronage of letters, etc., after the heyday of the 'Sangham Kings'. The rise of the Pallava must also synchronize with the decline of the Andhras. So, about the middle of the third century, *Bappa* the earliest name in the charters became king. Since in no inscription the order Skandavarman, Buddhavarman, etc., is found, we may assume that Buddhavarman did not reign. Thus, we may assign 1 and 2 to the period between the middle of the third century and about A.D. 310 when probably Vishnugōpa succeeded to the throne. In view of the fact that Vishnugōpa *king of Kānchi* does not occur in any *early* inscription next to Skandavarman, it is difficult to assign him a proper place.

The kings of the Sanskrit charters are of two dynasties. One section does not connect itself in any way with Kānchi though some belonging to it call themselves Mahārājas. And there is no reason why they should be put in as kings of Kānchi. But, it has been asked why the Nellore Pallavas mention the names of the Kānchi kings in their charters. The answer is for the obvious reason that they were descended from and related to them.

It is definitely stated that Kumārvishnu recaptured Kānchi¹ and his son Buddhavarman conquered the Chōlas. He was indeed 'the submarine fire to the ocean of Chola forces' (i.e. the successors of Chengan?) It is also definitely known that a Simhavarman was king of Kānchi about A.D. 435.² From the Penukonda³ plates of Mādhavaganga, we may infer that probably the abovesaid Simhavarman is referred to by them. He was succeeded by a Skanda according to the Penukonda and Udayēndiram grants.⁴

Turning awhile to the genealogical list, we may take any of the Sanskrit charters first and then proceed to the rest. Let us take a grant of the main line, the Chendalur plates⁵ and assign their proper places to Nos. 4, 5, and 6. The Uruvappalli,⁶ the Omgodu II⁷, the Chura⁸ and Pikira,⁹ Mangalur¹⁰ and Darsi¹¹ Plates fit in and supply Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. To fit in the list Omgodu I,¹² we have to add Kumārvishnu as the name of *Bappa*. It is quite likely as his grandson was Kumārvishnu.

The Uruvappalli grant says that Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa issued it in the reign of Simhavarma. It has been rightly assumed that Simha was his elder brother. Now, the question arises as to why the Nellore branch succeeded to the main line. Possibly due to failure of issue after No. 6. The Vēlūrpālaiyam plates mention only some of the important names. We are concerned at present more with the order in which the names are given. According to it,

¹ The Velurpalaiyam plate, *M.E.R.*, 1911, p. 61.

² From *Lokavibhāga*.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xiv, p. 331.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 233. No. 6 ruled over the Northern Pallava dominion also.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xv, p. 252.

⁸ *M.E.R.*, 1914.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, p. 159.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 397.

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. viii, p. 246.

Nandivarman came after Buddhavarman. The Udayēndiram grant says who this Nandivarman was.

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    Skandavarman
    |
    Simhavarman
    |
    Skandavarman
    |
    Nandivarman of Kānchi.
The Vēlūrpālaiyam Plates supply,
    Nandivarman
    |
    Simhavarman
    |
    Simhavishnu.

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So roughly calculating backwards from Simhavishnu, we arrive at about the same date for the Simha of the Udayēndiram grant as that mentioned by *Lokavibhaga* (a.c. A.D. 435). This Simha's father was Skanda, and naturally enough his son also was Skanda. But, there is no space for Simha's father in the main line even assuming that he lived after Kumāravishnu II. The Vāyalur inscription¹ may be used to verify the table here and there. It is impossible that Rājasimha had thirty-four predecessors at Kānchi if we start the line with Kālabhartṛ leaving his predecessors. He mixes up real with legendary names and confounds the two if not three lines including the one in the ceded districts² which gave the dynasty the glorious title of Trairajya Pallava.

It is absurd to dogmatize about such points as the above and difficult to arrive at infallible conclusions about Pallava succession, the relationship among the kings, and their dates before Simhavishnu. Dr. Dubreuil, Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer and Dr. S. K. Iyengar have dealt with the problems and arrived at different conclusions with regard to succession. Of these, the French Savant's is the most reasonable and is adopted above to a considerable extent.

CHAPTER III.—THE EVIDENCE OF EPIGRAPHY

There is an *Orukal* (made of a single stone) *mandapa* on the way up the hill in Tirukkalugukunram. It is a rock-cut temple. In the Vedagirisvara temple in the same place, there is an inscription of Āditya I Chōla renewing a grant originally made to the temple of *Milasthana* by Skandasishya Pallava. Before Āditya, the grant was renewed by Narasimhavarman I. The *Orukal mandapa* has an inscription of Narasimha who probably made the first renewal and it was probably the *Milasthana* referred to above.³ According to our arrangement, this Skandasishya must be the great Skandavarman of the Prakrit grants. Another early Pallava grant, that of Chārudevi,⁴

¹ M.E.R., 1908-9; Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 20. The Ins. supplies 13, 7, 8, 9 and 10; and 15, 16, 17 and 11.

² Arch. Survey of India, *Memoirs*, No. 26, p. 9.

³ M.A.R., 1919-20, p. 25; Ep. Ind., vol. iii, p. 279.

⁴ Ep. Ind., vol. viii, p. 143. According to the above arrangement No. 2 Skanda has to be assigned A.D. 280-310.

the wife of the prince Buddhavarman, according to our chronology who did not rule at Kānchi, mentions a Vishnu temple at Dālura in Nellore District.

The inscription of Mahēndravarman I at Mandagappattu¹ puts the whole matter beyond doubt. ‘This is the temple caused to be constructed by the king Vichitra Chitta for Brahma, Īsvara and Vishnu without using bricks, timber, metals, or mortar,’ for it was built of a single stone like the *Orukal mandapa* (of Skandasishya?). So there were temples before Mahēndra but they were generally built of brick, mortar and wood.

Professor Dubreuil of Pondicherry, while examining the Ekāinranatha temple,² found some pillars bearing the surnames of Mahēndravarman I like Chitrakārapuli. Some of the pillars were ornamented with lotus flowers like the cave pillars of Mahēndra. So this great authority on the Pallavas has concluded that these pillars once supported a structural temple referred to in his Mandagappattu inscription.

CHAPTER IV.—THE EVIDENCE OF HIUEN TSANG

This pilgrim visited Kānchi in A.D. 640. ‘In Dravida, there are some hundred *Sanghāramas* and ten thousand priests. There are some eighty *Dēva* temples and many heretics called *Nirgranthas*. South of Kānchi, there is a *stupa*, 100 feet high, built by Asoka.’³

Dravida consisted of the Tondai and Nadu Nādus. But, in his time, since the Chōla was very weak, it is likely that a part of his land was included in Dravida and another part in Pāndya. Sambandhar has sung on twenty-two and sixteen temples in Tondai and Nadu Nādus respectively. Appar has sung of two more. Besides, there were some Vaishnava temples of *Prabandha* fame. So the pilgrim is not wrong in estimating the total number of *Dēva* temples at about eighty. Appar, a contemporary of the pilgrim is always represented in our temples with a grass-cutting instrument which he is said to have used in removing the weeds and grass which had grown over the temples which were old enough in his days. He also confirms the pilgrim’s account by his repeated references to the naked shameless Jains.

About Pāndya, besides calling it largely *nirgrantha* which is again confirmed by the *Tēvāram*, he mentions the remains of old Buddhist convents and *stupas* the origin of which he rightly traces to the Asokan days and refers to many hundred *Dēva* temples. Since the pilgrim has located the Chōla in the present Ceded Districts, he has included a large number of the Chōla *Dēva* temples as belonging to Pāndya. Sambandhar has sung of only thirteen temples in Pāndya.

CHAPTER V.—THE PALLAVA AND LATER CHŌLA BUILDERS

Of the innumerable temples sung by Sambandhar and Appar, none is mentioned as built by the Pallava. Pallavaneswaram though apparently a Pallava temple cannot be traced to that origin.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xvii, p. 14.

² See his paper on the subject.

³ Beal, *ante*, vol. ii, p. 229.

Mahēndrapalli is another apparently Pallava temple. We are not sure if it had anything to do with Mahēndra though from a hymn of Sambandhar we may learn that the place was an important one and full of Buddhists and Jains. There are two temples of about the eighth century, one at Kūranganinmuttam and the other at Vallam.¹ These two places are sung by Sambandhar alone. The two Pallava temples were probably built as a contrast to the two old *Tēvara* brick structures. It is really strange that none of the temples built by Mahēndra, Narasimha, Paramēśvara or Rājasimha has been sung. Nor is there any reference to the great Saivas Paramēśvara and Rājasimha whose great devotion is amply borne out by their temples and inscriptions.

It is likely that the work of renewing the old *Tēvara* temples with stone began in the later Pallava period. By that time, the size of the temple had grown considerably and elaborate treatises had been written on temple building which stereotyped the style and art. Before the time of the later Chōlas, some of the *Tēvara* temples had been built of stone. There was another general renewal of the *Tēvara* temples in the age of the later Chōlas. The temple at Tilastbānnm bears the inscriptions of Nandi, of Tellāru and Varaguna Pāndya of the ninth century. There are two inscriptions of Vijayālaya's time in Pañanam² and Viśiṇulalai.³ Rāmanādhisvaram also bears equally old inscriptions⁴. Erembiyur⁵ has an inscription of Āditya I, while Rājarāja I has inscribed on the Malapadi⁶ temple, Vijayālaya has also inscribed in Nālurmayānam. The temple of Tiruvāduturai was built of stone in the reign of Parantaka I.⁷ The temple at Mananjēri was built of stone by Rājarāja.⁸ The central shrine at Orriyur was renewed with stone by Rājēndra I.⁹ In the time of Kulōttunga I, the Nidur temple was built of stone by a chief of Mīsalai.¹⁰ In the same reign Tiruvaiga¹¹ underwent the change from a brick to a stone structure. Rājādhirāja II (ac. A.D. 1171) built of stone the temple of Ilambayyangōttur.¹² Probably even in the twelfth century, a large number of the *Tēvara* shrines were still of brick. After this first renewal during the later Pallava and Chōla periods, the *Nattukkottai Chetties* have made another general renewal in the recent centuries.

When the temples were renewed, the inscriptions on them were copied down and re-engraved after renewal.¹³ It is expressly stated in one place that the inscription was a copy of an older one. The temple at Kurrālam in Tinnevelly District has been sung by Sambandhar. It was apparently a stone temple in the time of Parāntaka I¹⁴ Chōla, for, some of his inscriptions in Vetteluttu were found there by Rājarāja I. This Rājarāja renewed the temple which was in a dilapidated condition. After he finished the repairs,

¹ M.E.R., 1913, p. 84.

⁸ Ibid., 1905, p. 5.

² Ibid., 1909, p. 87.

⁹ Ibid., 1911, p. 67.

³ Ibid., 1915, p. 96.

¹⁰ Ibid., 1895, p. 5.

⁴ Ibid., 1925, p. 89.

¹¹ Ibid., 1915, p. 97.

⁵ Ibid., 1913, p. 96.

¹² Ep. Ind., vol. xviii, p. 8.

⁶ M.E.R., 1915, p. 98.

¹³ Ibid., 1911, p. 73.

⁷ Ibid., 1890, p. 4; 1895, p. 5; 1911, p. 75.

⁸ Ibid., 1918, p. 144.

he caused those inscriptions to be re-engraved. Our temples have served so many purposes, not the least important of which is they contain eternal records of our past history.

CHAPTER VI.—THE STYLE OF THE TEMPLES

At first temples were erected like houses with mud, brick and timber and tiled roofs were put over them. Many of the temples in Malabar and the temples of our village Gods and Goddesses are still of the same materials. Some of the temples of *Tēvāra* fame had mud floors in the seventh century as Appar refers to the smearing of the temple floor with cowdung water as sacred service.¹ The Kūram temple had a tiled roof in the seventh century A.D.²

The houses of the earliest times must have been on the same plan as the Dolmens, the abodes of the dead and receptacles for their offerings. They are of a simple style and dark inside. Three walls and one flat roof over them do not require any extraordinary skill in construction. Curiously, at Kambadaru near Kalyānadru, old Dolmens³ have been set up as Saiva shrines.

Origin

Due to the influence of Buddhism, a *stūpa* was added to the simple Dolmen over the spot where the deity was placed. Over this *stūpa* or *vimāna* was the *kalasa* in the place of the Buddhist umbrella. So the ancient Tamil temple consisted of two parts, the *Garbha Griha* containing the *Linga* which was placed on the relics of some great dead just like the Buddhist relic, and a small space leading into it. The Buddhist *stūpa* is solid masonry work containing within it the casket of relics. Whereas, the Hindu *stūpa* was hollow above the image of God. Is it not the reason, the origin of the temple in the Dolmen and the *stūpa*,⁴ why the sanctum in the Hindu temple is dark? If the sanctum has to be traced to the tomb-cell which was in imitation of the hermit's cell and the hut of those days, the *prākāra* wall has to be evolved out of the railing round the *stūpa* which was in imitation of the circle of stones in a cromlech the primitive grave.

Mādakkōyil early in Tamil Nādu

But, from early times, it is quite likely that there were storeyed temples in South India. The Mādakkōyil might have been peculiarly Tamil and Machu (*மாசு*) is a pure Tamil word meaning terrace or storey. A reference to the earliest archaeological remains in Mohenjo-Daro leaves no doubt in our minds that temples were old. Besides, the existence of Buddhist *Tōpes* mentioned to have existed in Pāndya and near Kānchi as early as the times of Asoka and later on in places like Amarāvatī⁵ with railings and gateways

¹ *Tēv.* vi. 43. *egst.*

³ *M.A.R.*, 1915–16, p. 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1888, September 11, p. 3; 1907–8, p. 2.

² *S.I.I.*, vol. i.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1915–16, 29.

with sculptures on them must have exercised a profound influence on Tamil Saiva temple building. So it is no wonder that Sambandhar sings of very big temples,¹ *Gopuras* reaching the heavens² and walls as high!³ There are many references to the walls round the temples, ornamented *Gopuras*⁴ and big *Vimanas*.⁵

Appar's Types

Appar seems to refer to several kinds of temples.⁶ *Perunkoyil*, *Karakkoyil*, *Jnalar koyil*,⁷ *Ilankoyil*, *Manikkoyil*, and *Alakkoyil* are mentioned by him. At this time it is very difficult to distinguish these different types. The first was evidently the Chengan type. The second was probably a type of stone temple (*பாறைகூடல்*). *Jnalar koyil* was probably a temple of a kind of wood called *Jnala*. An inscription of Rājarāja at Kadambur⁸ refers to *Ilankoyil*. This Kīdambut *Koyil* is referred to as *Kaakkoyil* in *Tēvaram*. Mr. Venkayya suggests that *Ilankoyil* may mean the temple of Subrahmanya but it is not warranted by the above reference in Appar's hymn.⁹ So it may be taken to mean a small temple as contrasted with the *Perunkoyil*. *Alakkoyil* may refer to temples built over *Lingas* once sheltered by the banyan tree or to places where the God had still in *Tēvara* days, no better habitation than the shade of the tree. *Manikkoyil* seems to be a particularly beautiful type as the temple of Madura is so called by Sambandha.¹⁰

Mahabalipur—Traces of Wood Work

The earliest buildings that have come down to us in the Tamil land are the Pagodas of Mahābalipur¹¹ which must give us a clue into the architectural styles of earlier times. Their plan and style were in imitation of those of the wood temples of earlier days, for even where it is unnecessary as the material used was stone, the architects have indicated the beams and cross-beams in stone as if they were building with wood. The chariots for the Gods were built in imitation of the temples the only difference between the two being the former were dragged round the temple while the latter were stationary. Their style of construction was the same. Any one attending the annual festival lasting for ten days in any

¹ *Tēv*, n. 139, *Ceritēt*; I. 32, *Pārūp*.

² III. 40, *வாசிருதி*, III. 42, *வளை*, II. 63, *போசு*, I. 90, *மப்பு*, IV. 12, *ஶந்தா*.

³ III. 4, *ஷாக்கரி*, II. 23, *ஏசு*. ⁴ III. 149, *ஷாநு*, II. 112, *ஷாலாதி*.

⁵ III. 148, *ஷாதூரி*. ⁶ III. 100, *ஷாநா*.

⁷ ஷாப்பாரி. ஷாபாஸ்வாமி

⁸ M.E.R., 1904, p. 6.

⁹ Also cf. *ஷாநா ஷாக்கரி* in *Tēvaram*. *Ilankoyil* is a temporary shrine put up for worship while a temple is under repair, according to the *Tamil Lexicon*.

¹⁰ III. 149, *ஷாநா* “*செந்தி ஷாநா ஷாக்கரி*.”

¹¹ Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. 1 *Memoirs of the Arch Survey of India*, Nos. 17 and 33. See also Burges, *Bud Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Plates VI, VII, XI, XII, XVIII, XXI, XXV, XXVII, p. 31, for the origin of the style. See also P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar *The Pallavas (Tamil)*.

South Indian Saiva temple will notice different kinds of *rathas* or chariots used on different days for carrying the Gods in procession. Three distinct types at least may be noticed of which one is dragged in procession on the fifth day and another on the tenth. The style in which these two chariots pyramidal and conical are constructed were two of the ancient styles of temple-building.

Different Styles there

The *Draupadi Ratha* resembles the gold-covered shrine of *Nataraja*, the temple *par excellence* in the Tamil Country. The roof of *Bhima Ratha* is like that of the *Chaitya* at Chezräla displaying skilful stonework. The *Dharmaräja Ratha* is a *Vihara* with many storeys. The *Ganësa Ratha* was the model for all the Dravidian *Gopuras*. The *Gopura* or gateway excelled the inner shrine or *stupa* in post-Buddhist architecture. The *Sahadeva Ratha* has its imitations in the apsidal ended temples of Oragadam (six and half miles south-east of Chingleput) and Gudimallam.¹

CHAP. VII.—PALLAVA SCULPTURES

There are indications, that wood-carving was familiar in ancient Tamil land. The images of village Gods are still of wood. Casting bronze models seems to have been as old as the Ädichanallur finds. In all the *Tevära* temples there were festivals with chariot processions which are referred to in many places by the saints. In fact, festivals and processions were familiar in the age of Asoka who mentions them in his inscriptions. Rock Edict IV speaks of heavenly spectacles of processional cars, elephants, illuminations, etc. So in the pre-*Teväram* period there must have been bronze or copper images of Gods for *utsavas*. The reference in the Maski edict to the false Gods is obviously to Siva, Vishnu and other deities.

The hymners are never tired of repeating about Siva being attended by Vishnu and Brahma. We do not know if the *Somaskanda* carved behind the *Linga*² in the Pallava Siva temples was in imitation of the already existing custom or not. At least, the placing of Siva and Vishnu side by side seems to be as old as Chengan and Pëy Alwar, and the cult of Sankaranäräyana dates back to those days. According to the *Ägamas*, the images of Brahma and Vishnu may be placed in the Siva temple. According to the *Linga Puräna*, Siva was attended by Brahma and Vishnu. The constant references to the feats of Siva in *Teväram* and the beautiful sculptures of *Gangadhara*, *Kiratärjuniya*, etc., by the Pallavas speak alike of the remarkable *Puranic* revival in which kings and saints shared.

From the archæological evidence supplied by the sculpture of *Somaskanda*, we may regard the innumerable references in *Teväram* to Siva attended by Brahma and Vishnu and to Siva as

¹ M.A.R., 1914-15, pp. 6, 33.

² Ibid., 1919-20, 1920-21. In the *Dharmaräja Ratha*, the Kailasanätha, Shore, Pänamalai and Säluvankuppam temples.

Ardhanari as not merely formal but well founded in fact.¹ Since the saints have not sung on the Pallava temples, we may presume that in the pre-Pallava brick structures, images of Brahma and Vishnu were placed in the Siva temples. At a certain stage after this Siva and Vishnu temples existed side by side as at Tillai, Jambukēsvaram, Pallavanesvaram,² etc.

The broad-mindedness of the people and kings of those days can thus be amply illustrated, though instances are not wanting where both occasionally took to persecution. Even during the heyday of Buddhism and Jainism, the Siva and Vishnu temples were not destroyed. Kūn Pāndya, a Jain, had a Saiva queen and a Saiva minister. Even in Jaina and Buddhist centres, Sambandhar could boldly denounce his enemies. The later sectarian spirit among the Hindus had no trace during this period of revival when all the Saiva and Vaishnava forces were arrayed against their common rivals. Kings like Mahēndra Pallava built temples for all the Gods, Hindu and Jain. He placed Vishnu images in Siva temples which custom can be traced back to Chengan who is praised by the Saiva and the Vaishnava alike. There are no contemptuous references to Siva or Vishnu by the Vaishnavas or Saivas. Only, each sect considered its God as supreme and allowed the other equal liberty of thought. It is a far-off cry from the tolerant Pēy Ālwar to the degenerate Pillai Perumāl Iyengār.

CHAPTER VIII.—THE METHOD OF WORSHIP

The *Āgamas* were written only after temples, images and worship had come into existence. They emphasized, elaborated and stereotyped the old system of worship. The *Āgamas* were, however, growing as late as the seventh century A.D. as there is mention of *Sramana* persecution as one of the festivals and of the singing of *Tēvāram*.³

Worship is Rajopachara

About the seventh century A.D. according to the Kūram grant,⁴ the present system of worship was in existence. Lands were granted by Paramēśvaravarman I for the Siva temple he built at Kūram. The temple was built of stone but roofed with burnt tiles, a combination of the new and old materials. The lands were for providing for the *archana*, *dhūpa*, *deepāradhana* and other *upachāras* for the God. So the present-day worship existed in the seventh century, the age of Sambandhar.⁵ If further proofs were needed, there are many references in *Tēvāram* to show that this worship known as *Āgamic* had become familiar by that time. Sambandhar

¹ i. 121, புராத, ஏராக்குருவத் தெருவுருவங்கள் எழ்வுகூப்.

² ii. 83, சுருக்கிட்ட, நெடுஞ்செழுவுமூலம் ஏராக்குருவத் தெருவுருவங்கள்.

³ iii. 138, சுமார், ஏராக்குருவத், ஏராக்குருவத், மூசுக் குடும்பங்களும்.

⁴ Recently Vishnu stone images are said to have been dug up very near Pallavanesvaram.

⁵ T. A. Gopinātha Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, vol. 1, i, Introd., p. 56.

⁶ S.I.I., vol. 1, No. 151. ⁷ *Tēv.* iii 94, ஏற்கொண்ட, stanza 1.

mentions the *Āgamas*¹ and the three categories² of *Saiva Siddhānta*. What are now known as *Āgamaic* terms were familiar to the hymners. The various *upachāras* to Siva who was treated like the king as his temple was like the palace, seem as old as the Tamil word *Kōyil*. Bathing and dressing the idol, offering it incense, *pūja* and food, singing and dancing in his presence and carrying him in processions on *vāhanas* and in chariots—these summed up the *rājopachāra* to God. Going round the temple, i.e., circumambulation³ was considered sacred in the time of Appar. The thousand names of Siva were pronounced in the course of *pūja* which are however as old as the *Mahābhārata*. Innumerable instances may be given for the existence of processions and festivals⁴ which are found even to-day. Brahmans are said to have done *pūja* in certain temples in the seventh century⁵ and as to the other temples we may say the same thing though we lack definite information on the point. There were plenty of Brahmans⁶ in Tamil Nādu in Sambandhar's days celebrating sacrifices, chanting the Vēdas, learning by rote the existing literature and occasionally adding to it.

Was this *Āgamaic* worship Āryan and northern and was it introduced in the south by the Pallavas? Was it developed in the north and as a perfect system, suddenly introduced in the south, or, was it a gradual evolution among the un-Āryans?

Worship un-Āryan and un-Vēdic in Origin

It must be borne in mind that *Āgamaic* worship was un-Vēdic, pre-Vēdic and un-Āryan. It was the result of slow growth and attained all its present features about the seventh or eighth century. It is a wrong procedure to take up all its present features and challenge us to prove their existence in ancient times among the un-Āryans. The method is unhistorical as a system comes into existence only as a result of long evolution. The *Āgamaic* worship has its origin in bloody un-Vēdic sacrifices and devil dances before the tombs and Dolmens and was purified by passing through the crucible of Buddhism and Jainism which it invaded and led on to Mahāyāna which owes much to the pre-existing system in its religious and intellectual aspects. No greater error can be committed than to consider worship Āryan because the *Āgamas* are in Sanskrit, the language of the Āryan and cultured Brahmans. The Sanskrit language has been used by the Brahmans to describe the admittedly un-Āryan *Sakti*-worship, charms and black magic. Are the latter on that account Āryan? The Brahmanical influence is

¹ iii. 72, ஒற்றியூர்-ஆகம செல்வதார.

² i. 16, முதகுஞ்சம், வினாயகத்தோர் பரிசில்வரு பசுபார் வேதனையேந்தி, iii. 50, ஆலவரட்.

³ iv. 12, அங்கமாலை.

⁴ i. 43, இடையருது, புசம். i. 76, தேவண்புரம், செந்.

ii. 58, மஹிலர்ப்பட்டி. iii. 81, ஏச்சிநெந்திக்காராக்காடு, செந்.

iv. 27, ஆபா.

iv. 123, ஆபா.

⁵ ii. 41, பழங்குடி, அந்தஸ்ராகான மலைபாளையேந்தம். Again, மலைபாளை தெங்குடேஷ்தி.

iii. 101, வீதிமிஹஸ், செந்தமிழர் தெய்வமைந்தூர்கள் செந்தநகலை நீத்தவாய்தே தந்தமில் குணத்தவாக எர்ச்சினைகள் கொய்ய.

v. 156, பட்டாராக்கிளேன். The reference may not be to archakas specially.

⁶ See i. 44, அன்பில்; ii. 51, ஆக்கர்; iii. 11, வீதிமிஹஸ்; iii. 73, சுத்தமங்கை, iii. 106. சல்லார்.

traceable in the refinement that came to characterize the once hideous, orgiastic and absurd *Tantric* rites. A phraseology, a system, and refinement were introduced by the Brahmins fallen from the Vedic path, into the indigenous Phallic and *Sakti*-cults. The Vēdas have been quoted to prove the un-Āryan origin of the Phallus.¹ The *Mahabharata* has been quoted to prove the un-Āryan origin and associations of the *Dēvi*.² The *Kurma Purāna* and Kumarila Bhatta³ clearly say that *Pasupata*, *Bhairava* and other systems were un-Āryan, non-Vēdic and designed by God only for those outside the Vēdic pale.

History of Worship—from the Lower to the Higher Form

Let us take some of the features of the present-day worship and trace their history back. Enough has been said to prove that temples and images can be traced much earlier than Kautilya and Asoka. *Rajopachāra*, the present worship, is as old as the Tamil word *Koyil*. No less an authority than Mr Kanakasabai⁴ describes the religious service in the temples 1,800 years ago in the following words: ‘The religious service in the Brahmanic temples consisted in bathing and dressing the idols in the morning, adorning them with jewels and flowers, and offering them fruits, sweets and cooked rice two or three times a day and putting the idol to sleep at night and repeating the names and praises of the deity a certain number of times on each occasion.’ Again, he writes, ‘Siva was considered the greatest of the four Gods and his temples were the most stately and august of the public edifices’.

Ever since the temple was built, somebody must have been put in charge of it to do the *upachāras* to God. Priesthood is much more developed and powerful in primitive communities. In civilized Tamil Nādu 1,800 years ago, the priests constituted one of the five assemblies attending on the king. That Brahmins were attached to Siva temples in the ‘Sangham age’ has been established already. Whether there was free worship before it is a question which cannot be easily answered. The Vēdas call the Dasyus priestless. Kāsi (Benares) and Srīsa'lam, two of the oldest Siva shrines, have free worship even to day. Buddhist *stupa* worship or *pāda* worship was free and open to all. Then, at what stage were Brahmins introduced into the temples?

There are doubtful references in *Tevaram* to the system of free worship. Probably, with the flow of Brahmanism in the south, the kings anxious that the Gods should be regularly waited upon, put Brahmins as *archakas* attracted by their learning and austerity. That is the reason why the *Gurukkal* Brahmins form a separate sub-caste and are considered as very low in the social scale. For, the path of worship was un-Vēdic and un-Āryan in origin. Siva had no longer a carnal appetite and the deities who still had it were not attended to by the vegetarian Brahmins.

¹ The *Sisnaderas*. See also P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar *The Stone Age in India* (Madras University) for the neolithic origin of the Phallus.

² H. Krishna Sastri, *ante*, p. 223

³ The Tamils 1800 Years Ago, p. 231

⁴ Chanda Indo Aryan Races

What was ordained for the Brahman, however, was the Vēda, and what was ordained for others¹ was worship of Siva (and other Gods). That the bulk of the Brahmans later on adopted Āgamaic idol worship at home is no argument to prove that at first they had no repugnance to it. Whether we take the Brahmans and non-Brahmans or Āryas and un-Āryas as belonging to one racial stock or not, this much is certain. In the earliest literature of India, the Vēdas, the authors describe their nature-worship with hymns and sacrifices through Agni and condemn the rites and worship of the Dasyus. In the latter is found the origin of the fireless Āgamaic cult with *tantras* instead of *mantras*. On account of the decline of sacrifices, Brahmans also took to the system of worship. So it is said that Siva created *Pasupata* and other systems for the non-Vēdic.

The 3000

The 3000 of *Tillai* are perhaps the oldest Brahman community in the Tamil land. They are *Dikshitar*s or the initiated. They keep a top-knot like the *Chōliya* Brahmans and the Nāyars of Malabar. This peculiar system of tying the hair seems ancient. The *Kudimithēvan* of Kannappar, and the Lords of Kūdimiyamalai² and Kalattur,³ all equally old have a similar top knot. The Nambudris also wear their hair in a like fashion. *The 3000* consider Nataraja or 'the king of dancers' as one of themselves. They alone can do *pūja* to him. They alone are the initiated in his eyes. They are highly praised by 'the Three' and classified by the third hymner as Saiva saints. *Tillai* is known as *Kōyil*, i.e. *the temple*. *Tiruvenkādu*, a part of ancient Puhār was *Ādi Tillai* according to tradition. Probably, after the destruction of Puhār, *the 3000* shifted to *Tillai*. That was why *Tillai* was the *Kulakshētra* of the Chōlas. So *the 3000* are a very old Brahman community initiated for Siva worship.

The Āgamaic injunction is that only a Brahman and that too, an initiated one alone, can do *pūja* to the idol in the temple. It need not be repeated that this came about only slowly. Sambandhar's references to Brahman *archakas* have been given above. His hymns refer to the devotees carrying flowers and water for God but it is probably a survival of a fast disappearing system, if it is granted that the references are to the free and irregular *pūja*⁴ of his

¹ iv, 14 சமச்சிவாயப்பதிகம்
அந்தணர்க்கருங்கலம் அருமணநயாரங்கம்
நங்களுக்கருங்கலம் சமச்சிவாயலே.

² M.E.R., 1912; or, Are they of the shape of the primitive Gudimallam linga?

³ Ibid.

⁴ i, 77, செங்காட்டங்குடி
பாலினூற் நெய்வநந் பழத்தினா பமிஞ்ரட்டி
ஊவனஞ் மணமாலீஸ் கொணர்த்தியார் புரிந்தேத்த.

i, 68, செடுங்களம்
பொன்னடியே பாலிசாஞ்சு ழவெடு
கீர்ச்சமக்கு நின்னடியார்கள்.

ii, 51. ஆக்கர்

iv, 1, அதிளகவீட்டரைம்
ஈலங்புவொடு துபமநெதறியேன்
தமிழோடிகை பாடன் மந்தறியேன்.

time As early as *Manimekalai* Brahmans are associated with temples. 'Ye Brahmans! Perform your services in all your temples from the great shrine of Siva to the small fanes of the local deities' (1)

It is said that most of the sixty-three saints were uninitiated and so initiation and, what it involves, the system of *Gurus*, were only a growth of the age of Sambandhar or even later. Only a few of the saints were *Adisaras*¹. All were born devotees who set love above rituals and formulas, that love which was lacking in the *Sramana* who was on that account no better than a low born in the eyes of Appar². Love and service to Siva and His *Bhaktas* was the great qualification of the saints.

Mular—the root of worship

Tirumular, an old *yogi*, is the author of *Tirumantiram* which reveals a knowledge of the *Agamas*. There is little doubt that he was a very ancient *Guru* of the Tamils who lived up to a ripe old age and was the *mula* or root of their *bhakti* and worship. If it is a fact that the elaborate worship that Mr. Kunakasabai describes existed in the 'Sangham age', then Mular must have lived long before it. His statement about the identity of love and God must have inspired the nation to turn to the path of devotion. The Tamils had many spiritual kings or *Gurus* whose remains were crowned by phalli, tombs, or temples. In the 200 temples sung by Sambandhar, the same system of worship described by Mular must have prevailed.

In primitive times, human and animal sacrifices must have been common, though human sacrifices³ ceased early. *Manimekalai* mentions human sacrifices to Durga. Till recently, the Khonds, a Dravidian tribe, offered human sacrifices to the Earth Goddess. The survival of bloody sacrifices in later times even to the higher Gods is reminiscent of the old system. The *Mahabharata* mentions animal sacrifices to Siva. Bloody sacrifices have survived till the present day in Orriyur and Srisailam. The *Kongu Viras* used to cut off their heads and tongues and offer them to the God of Srisailam. In Krisna Deva Raya's time, his officer Sānthalinga⁴ cut off the heads of all the Jains living there as a sacrifice to Siva. The Goddess there is *Kali* and thousands of goats and buffaloes are sacrificed to her every year. Such bloody rites were thoroughly

iv, 12 முனையை, வெட்டின்தீர்

v, 149, இந்தப்புறைக்

ஊழல் நாறி வெவ்வேங்கி. சிர்விலை

ஊழல் நாறி வெவ்வேங்கி.

vi, 43, அதே, புவனகாஷமாவிடு

கூங்குமிடுப் புவன புவனேசுத்தீப் புவனத்துரை

புவனை குடியிட கட்டுரை.

vi, 130, சூரி-உஸுரை வெறுத்திடல்

கூங்குமிடுப் புவன.

¹ i.e. Sainya from ancient times

² *Ceremonies for*, Cf. Sambandhar vi 101 *Ceremonies for*

³ Cf. the *Āryan Purushamedha*

⁴ M.E.R. 1915 p. 93, also Ins. 20 of 1915 Srisailam

changed by Buddhism and Jainism which had influenced for good even the cult of the *Durdēvatas*, the village deities, which have become generally vegetarian and only occasionally flesh-eating. The religion of the Buddha, due to the overwhelming influence of the primitive worship, developed into *Mahāyāna* which countenanced worship—*puja*, incense, procession, a priest in charge, etc.,—i.e., roughly into the un-Aryan system minus the horrible rites. When Saiva worship revived after Buddhism, it was much purer.

Sankara helps evolution to the higher

The work of the great Sankara and his successors has been in the same direction of elevating and purifying Saiva worship. 'If the worship of *Kali*, *Durga* and *Bhairava* was common throughout the country in early times and if it has survived in other parts of the country down to our own day, the freedom of South India from *Tantric* ceremony and the purity and loftiness of South Indian religion are due to their work. And when the Saiva revivalists appeared on the scene, they found everywhere the sweet and gentle aspects of a loving and graceful *Isvari*, and no terrible *Durga* or *Chāmundi* demanding sacrifices in blood; the ever auspicious Siva everywhere in His joyous mystic dance identified with *Ananda*, the innermost essence of all animate nature.'¹

The stories of Kannappar,² Kaliyar,³ Kanampullar⁴ and Siruthondar⁵ serve to remind us of the prevalence of the sacrifice of the human body to Siva in primitive times. The substitution of cocoanuts for heads and praying and fasting for lashing and hook-swinging has been a tardy process and due to the combined efforts of Āryanism and Buddhism, Siva and *Devi* were transformed from their original habits and associations.

Āgamaic worship is a system of signs rather than of *mantras*. The idea of solemnity associated with the burial mound, the origin of Siva, and the receptacle of the remains of the *yogi* ever absorbed in meditation accounts for the worship of signs and symbols.

PART IV.—THE GROWTH OF SECTARIANISM AND SOME IMPORTANT DATES

CHAPTER I. BHAKTI IS PRE-SAMBANDHA

THE *Bhakti mārga* is the only easy one for the bulk of the people. They cannot acquire sufficient *jñāna*. So the path of devotion to God was the people's road to salvation which they continued to take unaffected by Āryan metaphysics. The Āryan influence was to emphasise the un-Āryan cult, as the path of Vedic sacrifices was denied to them.

¹ N. Venkataraman, *The Great Sankara and His Successors in Kanchi*.

² Sacrificed his eyes to God.

³ Used his blood as oil for lighting before God.

⁴ Burnt the hair of his head for the same purpose.

⁵ Sacrificed his child to Siva.

Sanskrit *Puranas* and the Tamil *Periyapurana* point to the south as the home of devotion in *Kaliyuga*¹. The impression that we derive from the purely Tamil words for God and temple is the same. Some of the earliest Sūva sūntis have to be assigned to the centuries before the birth of Christ. Kriṇappir, the ornament of the *Nagakula* Chandi the Brahmin boy one of the *Panchamūrtis* Pēy, the terrible Chetty sage and Muthu the *jogi* of Sathinur belong to a very early period. It is peculiar that some of the earliest saints are drawn from the lower classes and the majority of those whom Sundarī thought fit to include in his list of devotees are also from the same orders². If this does not prove anything else it indicates at least that *Bhakti* in the Tamil land was at first popular outside the Brahmanical caste.

There was no caste or sex distinction among the *Bhaktas*. Thus here also the Aryan Vedic influence cannot be traced. The non-Aryan religion strengthened by the Buddhist continued the idea of the community of the faithful in which even the *Panchama* caste had its representatives.³ How is it we have only in the Tamil country such a galaxy of *Siva* and *Vishnu* devotees drawn mainly from the non-Brahmanical orders from the early centuries? At this period such notions of equality and devotion to God seem to be peculiarly southern.

What is Bhakti?

The only standard of merit was devotion to Siva who was the father and mother of all His devotees. He alone could wash away the sins and give them salvation from *samsara*. All the waters of the sacred *Ganga* cannot purify them. Repeating the sacred books from cover to cover will only result in physical exhaustion. The due observance of rites, fasts and ceremonies will not reserve for them berths in heaven.⁴ But true bodily service to God, and intense love towards Him as our only relation in the world⁵ are a sure passport to the land of bliss. What Pey prays for to end births, and if born never to forget God expresses the ideal of a *Bhakta*.⁶ Like Mu'ir the shepherd Pey was an ancient sage who worshipped Siva undergoing horrible penances and thus amply deserving the title Pēy (demoness). The devotee of Siva though he may be a leper and a eater of beef is held in higher esteem by Appar than a non devotee.⁷ He expresses the idea of the community of the faithful whatever their caste. Hymning to God was

¹ Persia vol 1 p 24 சென்னை ஜாதிக் கலைகள் Dr S K Iyengar Vaishnavism in South India p 8 quotes Sri Bhagavata p 11 quotes the Padma Purana

² Periyar introd 15 16 Brahmins 6 Kings 5 Chiefs 5 Vaisyas
13 Vellalas 2 Shepherds 9 Other lower castes—one fisherman one
washerwoman one potter one oimonger one hunter one weaver one toddy
tapper and two *Adi Dravidas*

³ Nandan and Panan

1 Nandam and Panam
4 1 65 வெள்ளு 11 3 மார்ச் st 11 v 47 மெர்கெப் st 8 v 109 மெர்கெ
st 3 v 156 மார்ச் 1975 தேவையின்

⁵ vi 12 முனை vi 130 முடி முயற் காலம் ?

⁶ Periya, i, p 641 cf also *ibid* ii pp 199 and 800

V1 131 sent ~~shipped~~ st 10

as old¹ as *Bhakti* as far as we can trace it and might have been imitated from the *Vedins* who first condemned the un-Aryas as hymnless. Pēy the ancient woman-sage has left us a few hymns which are held as sacred as the *Tēvāram*.

CHAPTER II—THE AGE OF SAMBANDHAR

The service rendered by Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai and Mr. Venkayya in fixing the date of Sambandhar in the middle of the seventh century A.D. cannot be overrated.² Recently Mr. Shāma Sāstri has tried to bring down this date to the eighth century.³ But the Jinasēna who was the opponent of Sambandhar according to him does not find mention in the lists of Jaina teachers given by Sambandhar and Sundarar. Without traversing his grounds, we shall record here certain new data from the *Tēvāram* which may lead to confirm our accepted date.

The *Tēvāram* is a valuable source for history but unfortunately contains only few dynastic references. It is a genuine document as its history can be traced back without a break to the age of Nambi (tenth century A.D.) and before it to the age of Sundara (ninth century) who mentions the hymning activities of the first two.⁴ While the hymns were sung, they were written down on palm leaves⁵ which were probably collected and deposited in the temple of Tillai. When Nambi took them for publication, several leaves had been eaten away by white ants. That is why we find some hymns without a few lines.⁶ Tradition is equally strong on the point that some hymns were irretrievably lost. Some temples have been mentioned by Sambandhar and Appar but there are no extant hymns on them. For example, Nannilam (S.I.Ry.) a temple built by Chengan is mentioned by Appar but has no hymn either by him or his younger contemporary. The discovery of an epigraph of eleven Tamil verses by Sambandhar in Tiruvidaivāyil⁷ affirms that our tradition is no lying gabble. This hymn is not contained in the present collection of the Saiva psalms by Nambi.

Sēkkilar mentions Siruttonda as a Pallava commander who captured, plundered and burnt Vātāpi.⁸ After rendering this service, he retired to his native place, built a temple there and spent the rest of his days in devotion. He met and entertained Sambandhar who at his request sang a hymn on his temple called Gānapatīsvāra⁹. It was so called because it contained the famous

¹ Cf. iv. 1, தமிழராத்தசபை மற்றுமேன் so hymning was old in Appar's day.

² *Tamilian Antiquary*, vol. i, No. 3.

³ *Proc. of the Or. Conf.*, 1924, p. 233.

⁴ vii. 73, புஞ்சர் ; vii. 83, செலவூர் ; vii. 16, சின்றபுரி, cf. *Periya.*, i, Introd. p. 47, for the traditional number of hymns sung by the three.

Sambandhar	...	16,000	384 extant.
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Appar	...	49,000	307 ,,
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Sundarar	...	38,000	100 ,,
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⁵ iii. 42, ஏடங் St. 12 ; iii. 141, செமலங் St. 12 ; *Periya.*, ii, pp. 289 and 291.

⁶ ii. 23, முபராட், st. 11 ; ii. 123, சுறி ; iii. 94, செஷ் ; vi. 90, எக்கம் ; vii. 85 கம்ப கூஞ்சபதிக்கம்.

⁷ *M.E.R.*, 1918, p. 8.

⁸ *Periya.*, ii, p. 641.

⁹ iii. 80, செஞ்சாட்டங்குடி, வெஞ்செத்தெணி மற்பும் கிழத்தெஞ்செல் அவன்வெஞ்செல் வந்தங்கு பங்கலிக்காமல் படித்தனரே படிப்பாற்று.

Vātāpi Ganapati,¹ whom Siruttonda had brought from Vātāpi and whose praises are sung by musicians at the beginning of their entertainments. There is inscriptional evidence to show that Paramesvara also destroyed the city of Ranarasika i.e. Vikrama ditya I Western Chalukya.² Anyway, the destruction of Vatāpi by the Pallava took place after A.D. 641, the date of the Chinese pilgrim's visit to the court of Pulakēśin II.

Tradition, indirectly confirmed here and there, makes Appar a contemporary of Sambandhar. Appar lived eighty-one years, whereas the boy saint was sixteen at his death. When Appar met Sambandhar the child, he was very old, say about sixty-five.³ He was probably reconverted at thirty when he was a Dharmasena, a much coveted Jain title. In his hymns there are plenty of references to his life as a Jain and subsequent reconversion.⁴ There are also reminiscences of royal persecution of Appar.⁵ He did not fear the Jain king⁶ and he never more swerved from the Saiva path. It has been well established that this king was Pallava Mahēndravarman I (A.D. 600-625) because we know no other later Pallava who was first a Jain and was then converted to Saivism. If we take about A.D. 620 as the date of Mahēndra's conversion, Appar must have died about A.D. 670. Sambandhar was a child when Appar met him, say about A.D. 655.

The boy-saint refers to a combination of the three Tamil kings and friendliness among them.⁷ A contemporary king ruling in and round Shiyali, obviously a Chōla, is said by Sambandhar to rule among friends,⁸ meaning thereby that the neighbouring kings were friendly to him. The combination of the three might have been against the Pallava Mahēndravarman II. The supreme Pāndya,⁹ and the prosperous Chōla¹⁰ mentioned in the *Tevāram* suggest that Narasimha's weak successor Mahēndra II was on the Pallava throne.

Sambandhar was a boy when he converted Kün Pandya. He calls himself so before Mangaiyarkarasi, the Queen of Kün¹¹. The Pandya is referred to often in his Madura hymns and some of the miracles in the presence of the king are alluded to. In his hymn

177, சென்றடக்குத் திருத்தங்கு விஷ்வாஸப்பாக எல்லெயும் வொருட்டாக ஏது விரிவுகள் வைப்பதற்காக

¹ *MER*, 1913, p. 88.

* *SII*, vol. 1, p. 9, No. 15, pp. 144 and 145.

² See Srinivasa Pillai's *Tamil Varalaru*, Part II.

⁴ IV. 1, சூதாவிட்டாராம்

iv. 6, സ്ക്രിപ്റ്റോഫോറ്റി

VI, 131, *καὶ τὸν Καὶ τὸν* refers to the conversion of his king.

— 124 —

“ 11. 134 சிகார்யா, பூர்வகு குடும்பத்தை .
referring to his king

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• 80, श्रावण
सुनि एका अप्पा कैम्बले वर्गाक्ष,

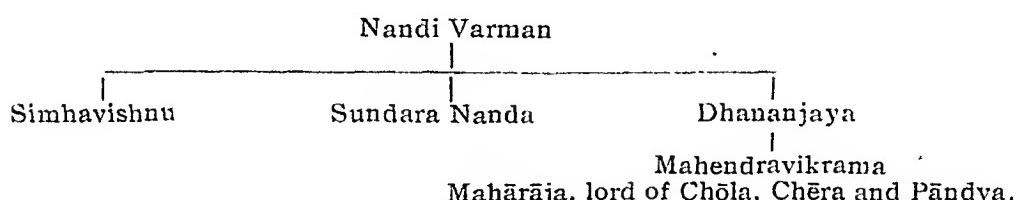
³ 11. 153, ഫെഡ്രോ, പ്രതാപ് ചേർച്ച ഘട്ടമന്ത്രിയും കേരള ചോദ്യമാണ്.

10 iii 149, ஆவாய, மக்களைக் கொலைப்படுத்த விரும்பும் குடும்பங்கள் தானாலும்
11 iii 50, ஆவாய, மக்களைப்படுத்த விரும்பும்

-- 30 --

on Mukkesvaram, he calls the Pāndya, ruler of Uraiur and Vānchi also (i.e., the overlord of the Chōla and the Chēra).¹ Sundara speaks of the victory of Kūn over the Pallava at Nelvēli.² Sekkilar attributes the triumph to his recent conversion to Saivism, which easily won for him hegemony over the Chōla and Chēra. Could this have happened in the reign of Narasimhavarman I? It is not likely because of two reasons, Narasimha was a strong ruler and was a terror to the Chālukya, and secondly, Kūn Pāndya could not have come to the throne by A.D. 650. According to the Vēlvikudi grant,³ Kūn or Arikēsari Māravarman could have ascended the throne only after A.D. 650. For, Nedunjadaiyan, the donor, was the third king after him and made the gift in A.D. 767. If we take A.D. 650 as the date of his accession we have to assign 117 years to three or four kings which is not however unlikely: But, if we take into account the age of Sambandhar at the time of Kūn's conversion, the former could not have been above twelve and if we utilize the inference we have drawn above about Appar's date, we are led to the conclusion that the Pāndya revival began about A.D. 663. Probably at that time, Paramēsvaran I was engaged in the Chālukyan war which earned for him the *biruda* of 'destroyer of the City of Ranarasika'. So the victory of the Pāndya over the Pallava at Nelveli.

There is a hymn on Brahmapuram⁴ (= Shiyāli) by Sambandhar in which the saint gives the names of a number of kings who ruled over Shiyāli and the neighbouring parts. Dharma was the first king. Then came the flood. And after it came successively Valavan, Chandan, Nāgaraiyan and Nandan. Though it is possible to equate Chandan with Chandravarman a Pallava name, Kaļa-nāgaraiyau with Paramesvara, and Nandan with Nandivarman, it is not warranted by other facts known to us. Dharmia, Killi (Valavan) and Nanda are stated to have benefited the temple of Srirangam by *Koilolugu*.⁵ They were Chōlas. Besides, there is a Sundarananda, ancestor of Srikantha Chōla according to an Erumbiyur inscription of the ninth century. Sundarananda was the uncle of Mahēndra Vikrama, a Chōla of the Ceded Districts⁶ who



¹ See above.

² vii. 51, தெண்டத்தெனை, இறைக்கொண்ட சிக்கையால் நெல்கேலி கோர்த் தினா தெடுமூர்தா.

³ Ep. Ind., vol. xvii, p. 291.

⁴ i. 79-80 : எங்கோத்தாருமன் மேவியாண்ட
பெருச்சேக் வவலங் மேவியாண்ட
தவங்கேய் நெடுக்கீல் சம்பான
கழல்ரா கரையன் கரவலரக
கட்டார் கடுலே ஏத்தலன்.

⁵ Ind. Ant., vol. xl, p. 131.

⁶ Ep. Ind., vol. xi, p. 337.

was the first in that dynasty to call himself Chola Mahāraja. So the dynasty in the Brahmapuram hymn was not Pallava but Chōla. The names of the kings might have been after their Pallava overlords.

The most interesting figure in the list is Sundarananda. Undoubtedly, the Chōla existed in his homeland during the Pallava period though a branch ruled in Cuddapah. Pallava, Pandya and Chālukya inscriptions testify to it. If Sundarananda was Sambandha's contemporary Chōla, then was he the father of Mangai, the Pandya queen? Mr Shama Sastrī quotes a tradition that the Pandyan queen was the daughter of Vikrama Chōla. There is a Vikrama Chōla Maharaja in the Ceded Districts inscriptions, the nephew of Sundarananda. It is very likely that Vikrama succeeded to the Chōla homeland on the death of his uncle and married his daughter Mangai to Kun Pandya, say, when Sambandhar the child-saint was coming into prominence as a prodigy and incarnation. This explains the queen's invitation to Sambandhar to visit Jain Pandya. His descendant of Karikala was instrumental in spreading the religion of her fathers in that way. So the union and friendliness between the Chōla and the Pandya. But the main difficulty is about the date of Vikrama. The epigraphist assigns Punyakumara, son of Vikrama, to the end of the eighth century. But it is very likely that Mahēndra Vikrama was nearer Mahendra Pallava whose name he bore. Punyakumara bears titles in imitation of Mahendra's.

There is another small reference in *Tēvaram* to a king Atyanta whose queen was blessed with some favor by the Lord of Amathur.¹ Atyanta is a surname of Narasimha I and Narasimha II *alias* Rajasimha.²

There is a tradition that Tirumangai Ālwar was a contemporary of Sambandhar. The former lived 105 years and mentions in his *Periyatirumoli* the Pallava Kings Paramesvaravarman II, and Nandivarman and (the Rashtrakuta Dantī?) Vairamēgba.³ So, if we place Tirumangai's death about AD 755 he must have been about seventeen years old at Sambandhar's death. It is not therefore likely that the Ālwar, who ceased to be a robber and became a pilgrim at about thirty, had a religious controversy with Sambandhar. But it is possible that he was his contemporary. Born and bred at Tiruvali near Shiyalı the birth place of the hoy saint, Tirumangai's later activities must have been influenced by the latter's life in more ways than one.

Could Nandivarman Pallavamalla have been the contemporary of Sambandhar? Was he the Nanda referred to in the Brahmapuram hymn? Was Atyanta of the Āmathur hymn Narasimha II? Was (Atiranā)—Chanda of the Brahmapuram hymn Narasimha II? If we can locate Sambandhar in the reign of Nandivarman (a c 720 AD), then several difficulties will disappear. Tirumangai might have had a controversy with the hoy saint. Vikrama Chōla of the Ceded Districts inscription assigned to the end of the eighth century by

¹ *Mētigai or Gājak 26 pādā purāṇapāṭi*, 1 54 अर्थात्

² Ep Ind vol xix, p 105, also vol x p 4

³ Ind Ant, vol xxxv, *Tirumangai Ālwar* by Dr S. K. Iyengar.

the epigraphist need not be shifted back to make him a contemporary of Kūn and Paramesvara Pallava I.

Besides, the Vetteluttu inscriptions of Pāndya of the eighth and ninth centuries give a long list of Jaina teachers showing the popularity of Jainism there. The Udayendirai plates¹ mention a combination of the three Tamil kings and friendliness among them. Sambandha's reference to the Pāndya must then be to Rājasimha, a Maravarman, devotee of Siva at Pandikodumudi and newly walled Kōli(Uraiyyur) and Vanchi², i.e. newly conquered the Chōla and Chēra. There is a battle Nelvēli in the confused list of Nandivarman's battles in inscriptions and the hymn of Tirumangai. The Vēlvi-kudi grant mentions Rājasimha's victory over the Pallava.

But there are other and insuperable difficulties if we assign the boy-saint to the reign of Nandivarman. Siruttonda who retired from service either in Narasimha I's or Paramesvara I's reign (a.c. 655 A.D.) must be made to live till A.D. 720. Appar, the contemporary of Mahendra (a.c. 600 A.D.) must be made to live for more than a century. Besides, Nandivarman's Pāndya contemporary Rājasimha the Saiva married a Maļava princess whereas the *Tēvāram* distinctly says that the Chōla Mangai was the Pāndya queen.

So it is not easy to shift Sambandhar to the eighth century with the available evidences. The important fact we have to bear in mind is that he lived only sixteen years. The Pallava dates are only approximate and it is not right to dogmatize on them.

CHAPTER III.—THE AGE OF SUNDARAR

The *Tēvāram* makes us understand that Sundarar was later than Appar and Sambandhar.³ In his hymns⁴ may be traced echoés of the philosophy of *Māya* and utter contempt for *Samsāra* probably vigorously preached by the Sankarāchārya of his day. No doubt the first two saints also refer with contempt to the body and to worldly life.

Sundarar refers in his hymn on Tirukothitti and Tirukovilur to a meeting of all the three Tamil kings in the Pāndya Court.⁵ Judging from what we know of the relationship between the Pāndya and the Chēra before Varaguna Pāndya (a.c. 862 A.D.), we cannot say that such a friendly meeting was possible at all after Kūn Pāndya and till Varaguna. Varaguna had the help of the Chōla and the Chēra against the Pallava. Here was founded the alliance between the three Tamil kings, devotees to Siva, which helped Āditya, probably identical with the nameless Chōla friend of Sundara, to revive the Chōla power in South India. Confusion has been created unnecessarily by putting one more Varaguna between Rājasimha and Srimāra.⁶ But, as Mr. K.V. Subramanya Iyer has

¹ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 372.

² Cf. Sambandhar's Mukkesvaram hymn.

³ *Tēv.* vii, 73, சென்ற ; vii 84, செலக்கு ; vii. 87, சின்றபுர ; vii. 103, செப்பு

⁴ *Tēv.* vii. 5, அகுசைக்கங்கு ; 8-9, ஏதி-கெரளபுரத் ; 10, ஆகுர ; 102-3, செப்பு.

⁵ vii. 3, முடியார துவாரங்கு முகவந்தார துவாரா.

⁶ Bigger Sinnamannur plates; *M.E.R.*, 1907, p. 63.

ingeniously suggested,¹ the Nedunjadaiyan donor of the Vēlvikudi grant may be identified for valid reasons with the first Varaguna of the large Sinnamannur plates² Then there will be only one

Kadungoh		Big Sinnamannur	Pallava Genealogy
Māra			
Seliyan	=	Arikēsari	Paramēsvara
Arikēsari		Jatila	Narasimha II
Sadaiyan		Rajasiṁha	Parameśvara II
Rājasimha		Varaguna	
Nedunjadaiyan (a c 767)		Srimara	Nandivarman
Parama Vaishuava		Varaguna a c 862 A D	Danti
			Nandi of Tellaru A D 835-865
			Nripatunga

Varaguna the Saiva in the Pandya list, viz., he who succeeded in A D 862 It is stated by Sēkkilār that the then Chōla was a son-in-law of the then Pandya This Pāndya according to the story in *Tiru-vilayattal Purāna* was the patron of Bhanabhadra who was given a note to Chēraman Perumāl for money So, Sēkkilār's Pandya contemporary of Chēramān was Varaguna³

Besides, we learn from his inscriptions that he raided Tondai and thus made the Pallava fight him at Tellaru. Again, Varaguna is said to have been defeated at Palaiyaraī near Kumbakōnam Probably in his hymn on *Purambiyam*, Sundara refers to the battle between the Pāndya and the Pallava who was 'ruler of all the land surrounded by the ocean'⁴ In his hymn on Tillai, he again refers to the Pallava who ruled the earth and to whom some kings did not pay their due tribute⁵ Due to the combination of the Tamil kings⁶ suggested in one of his hymns and to the expeditions of Varaguna into the Pallava territory, the position of the Pallava was unenviable

¹ *Sketches of the Deccan*, vol 1, p 103

² *Velvikudi, M E R*, 1908 pp 62-8

³ *M E R* 1911, p 59 It is very remarkable that in an inscription of Rājakesarivarman (Āditya I?) at Tillaisthanam, a gift of Varaguna Perumānar is recorded A record just above that mentions a Sēraman probably surnamed Kokkandan

⁴ vii 45, வெள்ளுநர் வெள்ளுநர்க்கு வெள்ளுநர்க்கு வெள்ளுநர்க்கு

⁵ viii 118 செங்கும் செங்கும்

கும்பாநர்க்கு கும்பாநர்க்கு

கும்பாநர்க்கு கும்பாநர்க்கு

⁶ vii 3, சௌதிலை சௌதிலை,

vii 20, சௌதிலை சௌதிலை

கும்பாநர்க்கு கும்பாநர்க்கு

But, Nandi soon overcame all his foes at Tellāru and other places. In the famous list of Saiva saints, Sundara mentions Kalarsingan, (i.e., hero) as if he were his contemporary. Kalarsingan was the lord of the whole earth.¹ The victor at Tellāru was a real hero or Kalarsingan. That Sundara's contemporary was a powerful king is also hinted at in another hymn.² *Nandikalambakam* and Perundēvanār have described Nandi as a great hero.³

Curiously enough, our conjecture seems to be confirmed by the Vēlūpālaiyam grant,⁴ the most noteworthy of the Pallava charters. It begins with an invocation to Siva, and next refers to Parabrahma, an echo of Sankara's preaching. The grant leaves us in no doubt about Nandi's great devotion to Siva.⁵ His successor Nripatunga invokes Vishnu in his Bāhur plates.⁶ Paramesvaravarman II, Nandivarman Pallavamalla mentioned by Tirumangai Alwar and Dantivarman were Vaishnavas. So, Nandi of Tellāru devoted to Siva, successor of Danti, must have been the contemporary of Sundarar. Or, we must assign the saint a period anterior to Paramesvara II, which will take him too near the boy-saint.

The few references to Buddhism and Jainism in the hymns of Sundarar indicate that he came later than the age of Sambandhar and the age of Pāndyan Vetteluttu inscriptions which mention a large number of Jaina teachers, whereas, Sundarar refers to only a few in that part of the Tamil country, thereby indicating that it was no longer the stronghold of Jainism.

These three *Tēvāra* hymners like the kings and peoples of those days were not swayed by sectarian spirit. In fact, this spirit comes into existence among the Saivas and the Vaishnavas only after the formation of their respective systems of philosophy by the Siddhāntins. The same spirit of devotion to Siva not very much concerned with rituals and philosophy may be traced through the songs of Pattinathār⁷ and Mānickavāchakar. By their time, the *Āgamaic* system of worship had fully developed, the system of philosophy known as *Māyavāda*⁸ had revived with a fresh impulse and the Saiva Siddhānta system was in a nebulous stage awaiting a definite shape.

¹ vii. 52, தொண்டத்தொண்ட

கடல்குந்த விலெவரங் காக்கினந பெருமான் காடவர் கோள சுதாசிங்கன்.

Sēkkilār places this hymn at the beginning of Sundara's life. But all that we can say is that it is an early hymn of the saint. It is likely that Sundara lived a few years in the reign of Nripatunga, son of Nandi. The journey to Pāndya with Chēramān was a later event.

Tēv. vii. 86, திரைசா. வேற்றா யுலகாண் உறம்பிந்த வீற்றுநத விவ்வட விதுதனை செய்க்கிறது வெந்துபருமானதிடுமிப் பெருக்காலம் வினை. . . . may refer to Nandi.

Tēv. vii. 102, ஜாறா.

தேவேங்கன் திருமாறும் மஸ்மே வயனும் காண்கிலா. . . . may refer to Nripatunga.

² vii. 8, எதிர்கொள்பாடி, மத்தயாண்யேறி மன்னர் குழவருவிர்க்கான்.

³ Ind. Ant., vol. xxxvii, p. 170.

⁵ Ibid., verse 29.

⁷ The three categories of Saiva Siddhānta are mentioned in his, Kalumala and Marudhur *mūmīmanikōvais*.

⁸ பேர்ப்பிரிசுஅகவல்

⁴ S.I.J., vol. ii, part v, p. 510.

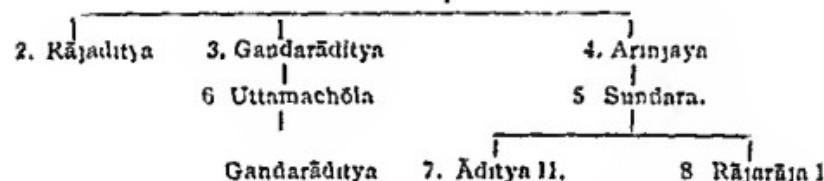
⁶ Ep. Ind., vol. xviii, p. 5.

CHAPTER IV.—THE AGE OF NAMBI

After the decline of Buddhism and Jainism, Saivism and Vaishnavism gradually drew apart. In the days of Nāthamuni¹ and Nambi the two sects had their origin. The effect of Nambi's compilation of the Saiva psalter and his Andādi on the sixty-three was in the direction of sectarianism. The sacred Tamil Veda describing the greatness of Siva and the lives of the Saiva saints collected for the first time inspired the Saivas with the importance of their own deity.

Since the age of Nambi is important as beginning the trend towards sectarianism, let us inquire into it. From certain evidences, we may assign him to the time of Gandarāditya Chōla (A.D. 952.)

I. Parāntaka I, A.C. 906.



Umāpathi says that the contemporary of Nambi was one Rājarāja Abhaya Kulasēkhara and his work was approved by Sivālayadēvar (Tirumāligaidēvar?). From this it was hitherto thought that Rājarāja the Great was the king referred to by Umāpathi. But, the provision made for the singing of the Saiva psalms by Uttama Chōla,² son of Gandarāditya, the elaborate arrangements made by Rājarāja³ for the same purpose make us doubt if Nambi's compilation did not take place earlier than Rājarāja. But who among his predecessors collected the hymns? It is quite possible that Nambi was patronized by more than one king. But, at whose instance did he do the compilation?

So far as we know, the most pious among Rājarāja's predecessors was Gandarāditya. He was a Saiva saint. He had great love for singing hymns. He might have acquired it by reading the *Tevaram*. So, it is probable that he collected the Saiva hymns. But, it is difficult to equate him with Rājarāja, Abhaya and Kulasēkhara unless we brush aside the latter as later *bīrudas* which is not possible. Neither Nambi nor Sēkkilār gives us any definite clue to find out their time or kings. The 'Āditya' of the former⁴ and the

¹ The first of the Vaishnava Āchāryas lived in the tenth century A.D. He compiled the Vaishnava psalter, *The 4,000*

² *S.I.I.*, vol. iii, Nos. 139 and 151A.

³ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, No. 65

⁴ Andādi, Idangal Nāyanār and Pugalchōla Nāyanār —

He is said to have gold plated Tīllai and destroyed Ceylon. If Andādi is taken as the name of Nambi's king, then the reference may be to Gandarāditya. Gandarāditya has been identified with Maduraikonda Rājakesari by the epigraphist (See *M.E.R.*, 1913, p. 95 and 1912, pp. 63-64). His father was Parāntaka, the famous king who gold plated Tīllai and took Madura and Ceylon according to inscriptions. *M.E.R.*, 1907 (pp. 72-73) Gandarāditya might have taken active part in his father's expeditions and thus shared the honour of

'Anapāya'¹ of the latter refer to the Solar Chōla family and are useless otherwise.

The stories contained in Nambi's Andādi had become so familiar by the time of Rājarāja I² and Rājēndra I³ that they set up images of some of the Saiva saints. No doubt there is an instance of a provision made for the singing of the hymns in the ninth century by Nandi Vikrama⁴ (Nandi of Tellāru?) but the tradition is strong that the hymns were collected by a Chōla. There is another instance of such a provision in the 41st year of Parantaka⁵ I father of Gandarāditya. But, the credit for the compilation may be given to the saintly son in the closing years of the reign of his heroic father in whose wars and administration the son might have shared.

CHAPTER V.—THE AGE OF SEKKILĀR

The effect of Sēkkilār's work which presented vivid accounts of the Saiva saints of Tamil Nādu in a simple and graceful style, was incalculable. The miracles mentioned in *Periyapurānam* must have stimulated the enthusiasm of the Saivas and captured many a heart besides that of the king. God makes no difference of sex or caste or race among His devotees and everyone can obtain salvation by intense devotion to Him which is a simple means. Such were the lessons implanted by the author in every Saiva heart. There was a community of spirit among all the devotees irrespective of caste differences. This was bound to lead soon to a contempt towards the other communities. Intense devotion to one God was bound in course of time to lead the devotees to consider the other Gods as inferior.

When did Sēkkiliār live? Scholars have been wavering between the reigns of Kulōttunga I and Kulōttunga II—for the period of Sēkkilār. In about half a dozen passages⁶ Sēkkilār calls his patron and king Anapāya. He calls him Abhaya and Kulōttunga also. The last name Kulōttunga is not used so familiarly for the Chōla as the first two. So Sēkkilār's contemporary was probably a Kulōttunga.

Umapathy, a near authority, says that the contemporary of Sēkkilār was a young king⁷ who took to the study of *Jivaka chintāmani*, a Jain work and that he ruled from the Himālayas to Rāmēśvar.⁸ The very same phrase to denote the extent of his empire is used in an inscription⁹ of Kulōttunga I. Kulōttunga I

taking Madura and Ceylon. Since writing the above, my learned friend Mr. Somasundara Desikar of the Tamil Lexicon office tells me that he has successfully identified this Aditya with Aditya II Karikala in a paper submitted to the Oriental Conference, 1928.

¹ See below.

² *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, Nos. 38, 41, 43

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, No. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, No. 43, See also K. S. Srinivasa Pillai, *Tamil Varalaru*, vol. ii, pp. 158-170, *Tiru-murai Vahuppu* (Tamil).

⁵ *Arch. Surv. of India Rep.*, 1905-6, p. 172. Also No. 373 of 1903, *M.E.R.*

⁶ *Periya.*, i 11, 17, 36, 162, 215, 435.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i, Introd. 9, இந்துக் கோவில்.

⁸ *Ibid.*, i, Introd. 8, பெருமான் சூரிய முருகன் வெள்ளுவில்,

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 104.

was young on his accession and ruled long as king over all land from Kalinga downwards (A.D. 1070-1118). Being a Chālukya in whose kingdom Jainism had not died out, it is quite likely that the young king had a leaning towards Jainism, or the Jains of Chōla tried their luck with him.

It is stated by Sēkkilār that his king was Nirruchōla and the Madras epigraphist says that Kulōttunga I is called Nirruchōla in some inscriptions.¹ Besides, in the reign of one Kulōttunga, Sēkkilān Parāntaka Dēvan alias Karikāla Chōla Pallavarāyan of Kunrathur in Kulōttunga Sōla Valanādu, and Sēkkilān Pälavariyan Kalappalarayan of the same place make gifts to the temples of Kadaiyur and Kalappal.² The epigraphist says that they were the Sēkkilār brothers of the *Periyapurānam* but it is doubtful if the king referred to is Kulōttunga I or II. The title Karikāla Sōla Pallavan will be appropriate only in the reign of Kulōttunga I, for the *Kalingattuparani*³ calls him Karikāla and attributes to him the same greatness so deservedly won by the old Karikāla. But, the *Periyapurānam* gives Sēkkilār the title of Uttama Chōla Pallavan and his brother the title of Tondamān Pälavariyan. The Kadaiyur and Kalappal inscriptions place it beyond doubt that the Sēkkilār brothers lived in the time of a Kulōttunga. Another curious fact which makes us identify Sēkkilār's king with Kulōttunga I is that the latter's son Vikrama Chōla refers to the story of Manubōla⁴ which is not sketched by Nambi and must be fresh in the memory of Vikrama on account of the recent publication of Sēkkilār's book. But this is a small evidence. The persecutor of Rāmānuja,⁵ Kulōttunga grew to be a staunch Saiva. So it is likely that the *Periyapurānam* of his minister roused to some extent the latent Chōla Saiva zeal.

But there are some objections to the above reference. The non-reference to the Kalinga expedition by Sēkkilār is easily explained. He was writing a purely religious work. Or, the *Purāna* was composed before the great event. But how can we explain away the fact that nowhere in his inscriptions Kulōttunga I calls himself Anapāya?⁶ The *Kalingattuparani* is silent on this point and does not even mention the gold plating of Tillai done by so many Chōlas including Sēkkilār's contemporary. His inscriptions too do not speak of any sacred act of that nature.

An inscription beginning with *Poomālin Badumam* at Tiruvātūr

¹ *Periya..*, 11; *M.E.R.*, 1912, p. 67; Ius. No. 312 of 1901.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. xviii, p. 68. The latter name occurs in 445 of 1912, Kottur. The inscription is dated in the second year of Kulōttunga Chōla, Tribhuvana Chakravarthi. But the division where Kunrathur Nādu was, could not have been called Kulōttunga Chōla Vala Nādu so early as the second year of Kulōttunga I. So the Inscription belongs to the second of that name.

³ Stanzas 260 and 583. He is called Karikāla in inscriptions, see T.A.G. Rao, *The Ālwars* (Madras University).

⁴ *S.J.I.*, vol. ii, No. 38.

⁵ This and the destruction of the Vishnu temple at Tillai are attributed by some to Kulōttunga II whom they identify with *Krimikanta*; see T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *The Alwars*, and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxviii, p. 129 for *Krimikanta*.

⁶ *M.E.R.*, 1912, p. 67.

mentions Kulōttunga and Anapāya as the names of one king.¹ This beginning is different from that in the inscriptions of Kulōttunga I. So it has been concluded that the king Anapāya was Kulōttunga II. So also the Kalathur and Ānakka inscriptions.² The former mentions Anapāya, the Tondamān chief as the royal secretary, while the latter mentions king Anapāya Kulōttunga Tirunirruchōla and the same royal secretary. Another inscription³ of Kulōttunga II calls him Nīrruchōla. It also begins with *Poomannu Padumam*. He is referred to in an *Ula* as having gold plated Tillai.⁴

CHAPTER VI.—THE NORTHERN BRAHMANS

In the *Āgamaic* Saiva works,⁵ it is said that Saivas flourished first in Manthrakāli on the Gōdāvari. There were four mutts of which one was the Amardhaka Mata. Rājēndra⁶ on his return from the Ganges brought some of the Saivas and settled them in his kingdom. One of them was Īśāna Siva Pandita who built a Siva temple at Kūrampandal. Even before Rājēndra, some of the Chōla kings seem to have brought and settled Northern Brahmans. Rājarāja appointed Sarva Siva Pandita Sivāchāri as priest of the Tanjore temple and his disciples for ever of Ārya, Madhya and Gauda to succeed him. Some of them seem to have been *Rājagurus*. Probably descended from one of the immigrants was Umāpathi Dēva mentioned in a twelfth century inscription as native of Dakshina Lāta in Gauda and priest of the temple of Arpākkam near Kānchi.⁷ These Saiva Brahmans gave an impetus to the sectarian movement which was finding expression and encouragement in the Saiva mutts.⁸ Thus *Āgamaic* works came to be written in the south by Agōra Sivāchāri (*Saka* 1080), Trilōchana Sivāchāri, Vāmadēva Sivāchāri and others.⁹ These works led on to the works of the Saiva Siddhāntins of whom Umāpathi was the last (*Saka* 1235).¹⁰

The persecution of Rāmānuja was not due to the intolerance of the Saiva Chōla as the latter did not persecute all Vaishnavas. But, probably the individual persecution was due to the work of Rāmānuja in the direction of extending the fold of Vaishnavism which proved prejudicial to the other religion. Both religions had degenerated into sectarian pāths and the *āchāryas* of both instead of bridging the gulf widened it by unseemly controversies about the greatness of the two Gods and about the temples which contained them.

¹ *M.E.R.*, 269 of 1901; *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, p. 153.

² *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 107; No. 196 of 1901. His king is called Nīrruchōla by Sēkkilār.

⁴ Kulōttunga Chōlan Ula, *M.E.R.*, 1913, p. 106.

⁵ T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *ante.*, vol. ii, ch. i, p. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, No. 9.

⁷ *S.I.I.*, vol. ii, Part II, p. 153; *M.E.R.*, No. 40 of 1906.

⁸ *M.E.R.*, No. 20 of 1899.

⁹ T. A. Gopinātha Rao, *ante.*, vol. ii, ch. i, pp. 4-9.

¹⁰ *Saiva Siddhānta Varalāru* (Tamil) by Anavartanāyakam Pillai.

Of the Northern Saiva Matas, the Gōlaki *Mata* spread in the Tamil country with innumerable branches.¹ Visvēsvara of that *Mata* was the contemporary of Kulōttunga III. Branches of this powerful *Mata* occur in thirteenth century inscriptions. Its influence came to be very great over the non-Brahman castes like the *Vaniyas*. These mutts did a good deal for safeguarding and spreading the Saiva religion.

CHAPTER VII.—THE MUTTS

The mutts of the Saivas, mentioned by Sēkkilār² as having existed as early as the age of Sambandhar, probably grew in imitation of the Buddhist and Jain mutts. From the time of the later Chōlas, they spring into existence in large numbers preserving and patronising Saiva literature, promoting Saiva religion and works and otherwise safeguarding the Saiva interests. The feeding of Sivayōgis devotees who did as much work as the Buddhist monks for spreading their religion was provided for by the kings.

Inscriptions reveal to us a Rājēndra Chōla *Mata* and a Kulōttunga Chōla *Mata* at Orriyur.³ Quite a large number of them come into view from Rājarāja III and Rājēndra III.⁴ These came to be permanent organizations with plenty of properties. Their influence was sectarian. All of them were non-Brahman and great strongholds and propagandist agencies of Saivism among the masses. They served educational and poor-law purposes also. Devotion to Siva was required by these agencies and Sāstraic Karma was not heeded.⁵

CONCLUSION

It only remains for the author to thank the Madras University for having passed and published this humble work. The author is highly grateful to the various Savants who have been quoted in the foregoing pages and whose researches have earned for them a deathless reputation. His thanks are also due to Mr. V. Narayana Iyer, M.A., M.L., Advocate, for having helped in the correction of the first proofs.

¹ M.E.R., 1924, pp. 114 and 115.

² Periya., i, pp. 595, 644; ii, p. 259.

³ M.E.R., 1913, p. 105; 1925, p. 83.

⁴ Stone Ins. Nos. 40, 156, 158 of 1911 speak of *matas* at Tiruvidamarudhur, Muniyur and Shiyal. See also Arch. Surv. of India Rep., 1908-9, p. 125.

⁵ M.E.R., 1909, pp. 103-105.

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TRUTH IN THE ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA

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1. The Śaiva Siddhānta system claims that its title bears a *yoga-rūḍhi* significance,¹ that it not merely happens to be called the final position, but is veritably the final position, all other systems being so many preliminary steps to this goal. The revelations of others such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc., only serve to keep the soul in bondage, for the categories they teach are of limited extent and fall short of the path of release. The knowledge taught in these does not extend up to Śiva-tattva or Laya-Śiva, union with which alone constitutes release. The other Śāstras teach only the twenty-five principles from the gross elements up to *puruṣa* and no higher status than that of *puruṣa* can be gained through their knowledge. Hence, it is said, 'the Siddhānta alone is the final position, all other Āgamas (revelations) being *prima facie* views; Śiva is the only auspicious being (since He reveals the Siddhānta), all others being inauspicious.'² The superiority of the Siddhānta is thus established through its consideration of categories not known to other systems. The Sāṃkhya, for instance, recognizes only twenty-four categories (or twenty-five including the *puruṣa*); the Yoga recognizes practically the same number, though it postulates the Lord in addition to them. The Pāñcarātra and other Āgamas, it is contended,³ do not recognize any more, while the Siddhānta alone explains all the thirty-six categories, by the full knowledge of which, one may attain union with Śiva, i.e., final release.⁴ The test of inclusiveness is thus applied, what is less inclusive being so far dismissed as less

¹ Cp. SSP., p. 6.

² PA, vv. 907, 908. PB, p. 557; c. p. also RTS, vv. 10-12

³ PA, v. 912, PB, p. 560

⁴ The thirty six categories of the Siddhānta are—The five Śivatattvas comprising, Śiva, Śakti, Sadāśiva, Iṣvara and Śuddhavīḍjā, the seven Vidyātattvas comprising Kāla, Kalā, Niyati, Rāga, Vidyā, Purusa and Prakṛti, and the twenty-four Ātma-tattvas comprising Gunas, Buddhi, Ahaṅkāra, Manas, the five other organs of cognition, the five organs of action, the five subtle elements and the five gross elements. The Sāṃkhya recognizes in addition to Purusa, only the twenty-four Ātma-tattvas, identifying, however, the Guṇa-tattva with Prakṛti.

valuable and less true. It is not, however, dismissed as untrue. Even the Cārvāka system has a measure of truth in so far as it recognizes at least the four elements.¹ What has been declared by him who knows more cannot be contradicted by the words of one who knows less. It is possible, thus, to set out a scale of truth beginning with the sciences formulated by human beings and ending with the Śivāgamas. Each higher Śāstra is uncontradicted by the lower, each lower one is superseded by the next higher.

2. Two minor difficulties have to be faced. It is said that Śiva is the author of all the different Śāstras, eighteen in number (aṣṭādasāñām vidyāñām bhinnavartmanām). How then can some be of superior and others of inferior truth-value? The reply is that in the case of all other knowledge except that of the Śivāgamas, Śiva has had the co-operation of other agents such as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, etc. The Hiranyaagarbha Āgama was thus produced by Śiva, no doubt, but with the co-operation of Brahmā; so too, Viṣṇu co-operated in the revelation known as the Pāñcarātra Āgama. The defects of these branches of knowledge are to be traced to the variable co-operating factor in each case,² and not to Śiva, who is the common factor.

3. Such an easy escape is not possible, however, in the case of the contradiction alleged to exist between the Vedas and the Śivāgamas; for both are revealed by Śiva Himself. But the difficulty is in part imaginary, since the Vedas do not require to be corrected, but only *supplemented* in the light of the Śivāgamas. That the Vedic texts require supplementation from among themselves is abundantly clear from the viyadadhikaraṇa³ of the *Vedānta Sūtras*, where it is shown that the ether is included in creation, though it is not so mentioned in certain texts. Similar supplementation from the Śivāgamas is certainly admissible, since, as revealed by Śiva, they possess at least as much authority as the Vedas.

4. It will have been noticed that the Siddhānta conceives of Truth as a systematic whole, which falls short of perfection in the measure in which it fails to be all-inclusive, but is yet realizable in varying degrees, according to the spiritual grade of the person in whom it is manifested. We are here at some distance from the stage of looking to correspondence with an external reality as the test of truth. Inclusiveness, however, is not the only test or aspect of system; and in so far as the other aspect of harmony is not sufficiently emphasized, one may feel that the Siddhānta has fallen

¹ *PB*, p. 563.

³ *VS*, II, 3, 1.

² *SJB Sg Y*, p. 17; *PB*, p. 561.

short of the highest conception of truth. This failure is reflected in the harping on the number of categories in the Siddhānta as compared with other systems. It is quite conceivable that another system with far fewer categories may help us to a more harmonious but none the less comprehensive understanding of the universe. The number of categories propounded by a system does not of itself guarantee that it is the absolutely necessary minimum or that even therewith a harmonious view of the universe is possible. It is not possible to say that the Siddhāntin has neglected the aspect of harmony, since that necessarily forms part of any intelligible conception of inclusiveness ; but he does not appear to have placed that in the foreground of his critical consciousness as much as he ought to have.

5. Yet another feature of the Siddhāntin's conception of system deserves to be noticed. The lower, he rightly holds, is transcended in the higher ; but he actually says, not that it is transcended in, but that it is contradicted by, the higher (adho'dho bādhyam ūrdhvatah). Contradiction ordinarily implies that what is contradicted has no element of truth at all. How, then, can it be said that even the Cārvāka system is true to the extent of the four elements that it recognizes ? The difficulty is illusory, replies the Siddhāntin. In respect of statements of what *is*, such as the number of categories, the cause of the universe, etc., the lower is contradicted, in so far as it comes into conflict with the higher ; for, option is not possible in the case of the existent. But in the case of what is to be done, where there is a definitive option, such that the adoption of one course bars the other or others, as in the performance of a ritual before or after sunrise, there is no contradiction of the lower by the higher.¹ And it follows without saying that the authority of the lower is never affected in the case of the purely optional acts. It would thus appear that the authority of lower systems is confined to their injunctions and prohibitions and does not extend to their statements of fact—physical or metaphysical. Now, though in the light of higher knowledge these statements may not be true, yet there is no denying the fact that, as applying to what was known at that stage, they were true. The Ptolemaic hypothesis was true, not absolutely, but as applied to the facts then known about the universe. The hypothesis, however modified, failed to square with the facts increasingly known, and hence came to be found untrue ; it was transcended by the Copernican hypothesis. In the same manner may the Sāṃkhya, whose theorising is confined to twenty-four categories, be transcended by the Siddhānta whose scope is

¹ *IPB*, p. 563, *SJBSgY*, p. 18.

wider. But the transcendence does not mean the denial of any element of truth to the Sāṅkhya except in respect of the injunctive and prohibitory statements. That a wholesale denial is not meant is apparent from the oft-repeated statement that each system is authoritative to the appropriate subject (*adhikārin*), a statement which is wholly implausible, if all truth is denied to lower systems in respect of statements of fact (*vastvamśe*). It would appear that the Siddhāntin's talk of contradiction (*bādhya*) has stood in the way of his realizing the issue clearly; for, while transcendence would not seem to be inconsistent with conservation in a certain measure, contradiction would seem to be so inconsistent. It may be this want of clearness that leads to the distinction between statements as to what *is* and statements as to what *is to be done*. But what is more probable, however, is that the distinction serves to mark off the province where the lower systems are valid for all time, even where they come into conflict with the higher, from that wherein such conflict necessarily leads to the lower being discarded.

6. Another point worthy of note is that for the Siddhāntin, the Vedas are authoritative because they have been revealed by Śiva, not, as the Mīmāṃsaka contends, because they are eternal and unoriginated. This is in conformity with his more general doctrine that, in respect of its origin, truth is not self-evident but has to be otherwise guaranteed (*utpattau paratastvam*).

7. We may now look a little more closely at the Siddhāntin's criterion of truth. He does not define *pramāṇa* (means of knowledge) as that which brings about *pramā* (knowledge), since he holds that to be too wide, including the sense-organs and such accessories as the light of a lamp, etc. According to him, what is an object of knowledge cannot itself be an instrument of knowledge (*yanmeyam na hi tanmānam*)¹, and the sense-organs, etc., are objects of knowledge. *Pramāṇa*, therefore, is that intelligence-energy which is free from doubt, error or memory (*samsayādi vinirmuktā cit-śaktir mānam ucyate*)². It is directed outwards, not to the knower himself³. The nature of doubt, error etc., will be noticed in a further article. It will be sufficient for our purpose here to state briefly that doubt is the apprehension of different conflicting attributes in one subject, and that error is the cognition of a content in relation to that which does not possess that content. Memory, of course, relates to what has been experienced and is not a means of present knowledge.

8. The expression *Cit-śakti* usually denotes knowledge rather

¹ PA. v. 852, cp. also SSP, p. 8.

³ PA, v. 846; PB, p. 521.

² PA, v. 845.

than the means of knowledge. If Cit-śakti is itself the instrument, what is the name for that which results from the exercise of the instrument? The answer is that Cit-śakti is both instrument and result, that it has two aspects, as inseparably connected with the self and as turned towards external objects. In the former aspect, it is the result and in the latter aspect the instrument. It is not therefore inappropriate to speak of Cit-śakti as the instrument of knowledge.¹

9. It may be thought, however, that the appellation pramāṇa can at best apply only to the conative (kriyā) aspect of Cit-śakti, not to its cognitive (jñāna) aspect, since the former alone would appear to function as an instrument. But the jñāna aspect too fulfils a function in the acquisition of knowledge. The conative energy removes the hindrance to the object becoming known, while the cognitive energy endows it with the capacity which is favourable to its manifestation in knowledge (bhāvi vyāpāra anukūla yogyatā). Cit-śakti functioning free from doubt, error or remembrance, in both its cognitive and conative aspects, gives us truth.²

10. So far, however, we have only a negative definition. Umāpati, the commentator on the Pauṣkara Āgama³, tries to give us a more positive conception of the nature of truth and to this end examines several current and possible modes of viewing it. That intelligence-energy (Cit-śakti) is a pramāṇa which is associated with intellectual activity (buddhi vṛtti,) of the nature of true experience (yathārtha anubhūti). Wherein lies the truth of the intellectual activity? It is manifestly not resemblance that constitutes truth; for, between the intellectual activity and its object that lies outside, there can never be complete resemblance; some degree of it is present even in error, and truth cannot

¹ SSP, p. 8.

² SSP, p. 8. A further difficulty in recognizing Cit-śakti as pramāṇa is the acceptance of a plurality of pramāṇas even by the Siddhāntins (three, according to some, four according to others). The reconciliation of unity with plurality is effected thus. Intelligence-energy which is perfect is beginninglessly veiled by the impurity known as Nihāra (a synonym of Āvara). This impurity becomes ripe for removal in different degrees at different times. The manner in which knowledge results varies with the modes of activity of the internal organ, which vary according to the degree of maturity of mala, and hence we have the different modes in which knowledge comes to us, though all the modes are fundamentally identical with Cit-śakti. In the proportion in which mala is ripe, knowledge is directed away from the world to the path of nivṛtti and becomes increasingly free from doubt, error and remembrance. See SSP, p. 17.

³ It is not certain if this commentator is identical with the fourth of the Tamil sāntāna dācāryas. Hultzsch (*RSSM*, II, p. 18) considers the identity probable. The editor of the *Pauṣkara Bhāṣya* definitely identifies the two Umāpatis. Schomerus too follows tradition and makes this identification (*DCS*, p. 28). But curiously enough, the commentator quotes from the *Nyāyāmṛta* (see *PB*, p. 519) a Madhva work believed to belong to the 16th century. Further investigation is undoubtedly called for before the identification is accepted.

be distinguished from error unless it is possible to define the precise degree of resemblance that constitutes truth.

11. Nor can truth consist in the attribution of that characteristic which is not the correlate of the non-existence of the substantive (*vिशेषा*) element in knowledge. For, the pot and the place where it is are in the relation of mutual exclusion (*anyonyābhāva*) and when we cognise the pot as present at a particular place, the predicate does happen to be the correlate of a particular variety of the non-existence (viz., *anyonyābhāva*) of the pot ; thus, even a true cognition is excluded by the proposed definition.¹

12. If we try to restrict the non-existence (*abhāva*) spoken of in the above definition to cases of absolute non-existence (*atyantābhāva*), we are still not free from difficulties. Cherries are red ; hence redness is not a correlate of absolute non-existence. The predication of redness would none the less be false in the case of an unripe cherry.² This definition, therefore, becomes too wide.

13. Our failure may lead us to exclude the correlate of all kinds of *abhāva* except *anyonyābhāva*, for the non-exclusion of which we saw sufficient reason above. But our difficulties persist. Thus, to return to the cherries, it would be false to predicate the redness even of the ripe ones, since redness is a correlate of prior non-existence (*prāgabhāya*). Again, in a case of joint cognition, say of the pot and the cloth, each is the correlate of the absence of the other (*ghata* is *paṭābhāva-pratiyogi* and *vice versa*) ; hence the cognition of the pot and of the cloth should by turns be false, each being in turn the correlate of the non-existence of the other ; but as a matter of fact they are both cognised together as true. Further, on such a view, knowledge of conjunction would be impossible ; for, whatever is conjoined (in the relation of *samyoga*) is so through a part of itself ; the *samyoga* pertaining to that part would be (as regards the rest of the whole) the correlate of non-existence ; hence, we could never truly say that any entity whatever is in the relation of *samyoga* to another.

14. We may now turn to another possible criterion—the invariable concomitance of the object and the judgment. This may mean that the judgment is not made either where the object is absent or where there is not some relation to the object. Neither possibility is of any help, for, the object can never be *in* the intellect which judges, while if *some* relation to the object be all that is needed, that is present in every case, even in doubt and error. On the

¹ *PB*, p. 511.

² Cp. the Irish bull ‘ blackberries are red when they are green.’

former alternative, no truth would be possible, on the latter, every judgment would be true

15 May we not say simply that the characterization of an object by the attributes pertaining thereto constitutes truth (*vishesya vrtti dharma prakatakatvam*)? No, for it is not characteristic of truth alone, as distinguished from error. A person sees a heap of red beads along with a fire and takes them both to be fire. In this case, the assertion is of an attribute present in the object, but yet the total cognition is false. Again, there may be cognition of both the beads and the fire, but the fire may be taken for the beads and *vice versa*. In this case too the predication is based on attributes clearly present in the whole taken as the object yet the detailed cognition is erroneous.

16 If now, in despair, we turn to a negative definition, we may say that truth consists in not being related to an object that is not the substrate of the characteristic affirmed. But the definition excludes joint cognition (*samuhalambhana pratyaya*) like that of the pot and the cloth in which each of the objects is certainly not the substrate of the characteristics affirmed of the other.

17 Nor may we say that truth lies in the affirmation of a particular characteristic where there is an object with the corresponding attribute. The object *pot* has the property of *being a pot* (*ghritatva*), on the strength of this we cannot say that *pot* is *pot-ness* or that the *pot* is in *pot-ness*, though neither of these would be excluded by the attempted definition, since the characterization of *potness* or in *potness*, corresponds to the attribute *potness* possessed by the object. Again, we know that *potness* exists in *pots*, but such an assertion would not be true according to the definition, since *pots* are not attributes of *potness*, and the latter cannot be spoken of as possessing pots.

18. The difficulties thus encountered are avoided by the Siddhantin who mentions the following conditions as essential to a true predication (1) It should not be limited by a quality which is its own contrary. This is the most fundamental condition. A monkey may be sitting on a tree, it would be true to say that the tree is qualified by the presence of the monkey. If, however, the assertion were to the effect that the base of the tree is qualified by the presence of the monkey, it would be false, since it is limited by its contrary attribute—presence at the top of the tree and not at the base. The assertion, in other words, must not come into conflict with what is established and thus be contradicted (2) The predication must be of a subject which is in some definite relation to the attribute predicated. By substituting the words 'be in some definite relation to the attribute' for 'possess the attribute', the

Siddhāntin hopes to escape the difficulties he pointed out in the case of *pot-ness* and the *pot*. It was said that, on that definition, *pot-ness* would not be cognised since it does not possess the *pot* as an attribute. On the present view, *pot-ness* and *pot* are no longer considered as viśesana and viśeṣya, but as two relata generally. (3) The relation predicated should correspond to that in which subject and attribute are. Thus, a crystal looks red, because redness is inherent not in the crystal, but in what is associated with the crystal. The relation between the two is not samavāyi sambandha, but sva samavāyi samyoga (conjunction with that in which the property is inherent). It is essential that what is predicated should be the specific mode in which the subject and attribute are related, not any other kind of relation, as otherwise, the predication cannot be true. (4) The predication must be made as qualifying the particular subject, which stands in the described relation to the attribute or attributes. This specification prevents the possibility of error already noticed, where several objects are cognised together, e.g., fire and a heap of red beads. Where fieriness is predicated of the fire and not of the beads, there is no error. Hence, the predication must be made of the particular subject which stands in the relation specified to the attributes in question, not of another subject (e.g., the beads), which does not stand in that relation.¹

19. If now we look at the net result of the Siddhāntin's labours, we find that we have only one definite test offered us, i.e., absence of contradiction. The other elements mentioned, are of interest mainly as showing the Siddhāntin's capacity to get out of difficulties largely of his own creation, as in the difficulties about *samūlīmālabhaṇa* pratyaya. The difference between him and the Naiyayika seems to be more terminological than conceptual, the Siddhāntin aiming at and probably arriving at a more precise definition in terms than the Naiyāyika. But the main difficulty as to correspondence seems still to persist. This is a difficulty which the Naiyāyika does not get over.² And the Siddhānta doctrine apparently takes us to the same *cul-de-sac*. A predication is true if it is made of a subject which is in relation to the attributes in question in the manner in which the predication is made. But how are we to know whether the relation between subject and attribute is actual or whether the manner of the predication is also the manner in which the relation obtains? A thorough-going

¹ For the criticism of the other definitions of *yathārthatva* see *PB*, p. 511; the Siddhāntin's definition and its justification are found on p. 512 of the same work.

² See *ILA*, p. 45, fn. 5.

doctrine of Truth as a system can offer nothing but coherence as a test; and if that is the test, the requirements about manner of relation etc., are but details in the application of that test. We are not, however, certain that the Siddhānta holds to the coherence-notion in such a thorough-going fashion. What has been said earlier about Truth revealing itself in various degrees in various grades, and the rejection of the correspondence-theory in the sense of resemblance would certainly seem to favour the view that the Siddhāntin holds the coherence-view. But the stress laid on such details as correspondence in the manner of relation and so on, the use of Nyāya terminology, though with an attempt at greater precision, the absence of explicit reference to coherence as the test, the fact that the Siddhāntin is not an idealist like the Advaitin, all these would indicate that he holds fast to a form of the correspondence-notion though with modifications. In his desire to demonstrate that his system is verily the final synthesis, he would appear to have juxtaposed this correspondence-doctrine with the doctrine of Truth as a system, though it is certainly questionable if such juxtaposition can claim to be a synthesis at all.

20. The truth of a cognition is self-evident, and has not to be made manifest otherwise than by the reflective cognition based on itself (*anniyavasāya jñāna*). Here, again, the Siddhāntin parts company with the Naiyāyika, though he agrees with the latter in postulating a reflective cognition consequent on the consciousness of the object, e.g., a judgment, 'I know this to be silver.' This reflective cognition of itself reveals the truth of the cognition of silver; it is not necessary to establish that truth, in any such manner as that indicated by the Naiyāyika, e.g., as the conclusion of an inference based on successful practical activity.

21. Certain essential features of self-evidence have to be noted. It is revealed by (1) all succeeding instances of (2) normal perception of (3) that of which the true predication is made (the substrate of *pramātva*), (4) so long as there is no contradiction of the cognition whose truth is in question. Mother-of-pearl may look like silver and be judged to be silver. This cognition is true and its truth is self-evident until the cognition is contradicted by further experience. The cognition of the mother-of-pearl as silver can be apprehended as true only until such contradiction takes place, and not afterwards. To indicate this is the object of qualification (4), which mentions a time-limit. It is also obvious that if reflective cognition is to reveal truth, it must be of that to which the original cognition relates—the substrate of *pramātva*. A judgment like 'I know this to be a cloth' can be of no help in revealing the truth of the cognition 'This is a pot.' Hence qualification (3) is put in.

22. Even according to the Naiyāyikas, the truth of the original cognition is grasped in *some* instances of subsequent cognition, *i. e.*, those which succeeded the inference based on successful practical activity. To distinguish that position from the Siddhānta, it is made out that self-evidence consists in being the object of *all* subsequent perception.

23. The qualification 'normal (laukika) perception', again, serves to distinguish this view from that of the Nyāya school. According to the latter, the class pramātva (truth) would be apprehended by alaukika (transcendental) perception. It is not such a cognition of truth that is understood by the Siddhāntin, as for him the apprehension of the class pramātva is of little help in revealing how a particular cognition is valid.¹

24. That the reflective cognition reveals the truth of the original cognition follows from a consideration of the constituents of the former. The extent of the two cognitions is the same. When the reflective cognition arises, it involves the understanding not merely of the subject and the attribute involved in the original cognition but also of the relation of those two; otherwise, the qualification 'being silver' could not appear as characterising the 'this' before me, in the judgment 'I know this to be silver'; for, the characteristic is verily of the form of the correlate of a relation that is manifested. The manifestation of the relation constitutes self-evidence. To the objection that the relationship is apprehended not of itself but only as the object of another cognition (the anuvyavasāya), the Siddhāntin replies that his position is no worse than that of his adversary according to whom the truth of a present cognition is grasped only through an inference which is other than the cognition. In any case, the truth so apprehended relates to the original, not to the subsequent cognition, and that is all that matters.

25. A more serious difficulty, however, relates to the possibility of doubt.² The moment an object is apprehended, anuvyavasāya steps in and manifests the truth of the apprehension. Where then is the possibility of a doubt as to its truth? And yet such doubt is a fact of experience. If it be said that there is no such apprehension of the object, that there is not even vyavasāya jñāna, then too doubt seems to be ruled out; for, when the substrate of the doubt is not given, there can be no doubt. The only way to explain doubt would, therefore, seem to be to accept that with the cognition of the object its truth is not apprehended as well; but this is to give up the doctrine of self-evidence.

¹ *PB*, pp. 512-513; *SJBSg Y*, p. 18.

² See *ILA*, p. 47.

26. To this objection, the Siddhāntin replies that doubt is due to a suspicion of defect in the origination of our knowledge. If this were not the way in which doubt arises, then it would not be possible for us to suspect (as we do) if our cognition is not faulty, even where we do perceive silver to be silver ; for, the original cognition of silver would, according to our objector, obstruct doubt. The doubt in either case must be admitted, then, to be based not on the cognition but on the possibility of that cognition having resulted from defective sources. The Naiyāyika may attempt to avoid this conclusion and yet show how a doubt as to non-validity of the cognition is possible. He may say that the original cognition (of silver) passes away before the doubt as to non-validity arises and that, therefore, the former does not preclude the latter. But this does not help, since, according to the Naiyāyika, not merely this cognition but everything perishes in its third moment; hence of everything there should be doubt, which is not the case. Further, if the suspicion of defective causation be not the cause of doubt, doubt should be equally possible in the case of what is near as in that of what is far away.

27. Again, the Siddhāntin does not admit that the cognition of the object is the ground of the doubt. The opponent may, however, urge some argument like the following : where several trees are seen by the way-side to be in the field of vision, some only are questioned about ; this is not explicable except on the ground that doubt arises only about the trees which are cognized. But this kind of argument leads nowhere, for the counter-question suggests itself, 'When many trees are in the field of attention, how does it happen that only about some of them there is cognition such as leads to further questioning ?' If it be said that these trees have some special features because of which they alone are known and not the others, would it not be simpler to trace the doubt also to those features ? True, these features vary in each case, while doubt seems to be common to all of them. Yet, since these features are ascertained to exist and to function, it would be simpler and more justifiable to trace the doubt to them than to cognition of the object whose existence and functioning have to be postulated. Nor can you maintain that one function—the occasioning of cognition—having been assigned to the distinctive features, no other function such as the occasioning of doubt may be further assigned to them ; for, the cognition so caused may be one infected with doubt ; and there is no warrant to maintain that only such cognition as is free from doubt is brought about by the distinctive features of the object ; to insist on adding the qualification 'free from doubt' would be to infringe the law of parsimony. The distinctive

character of the object may, therefore, be held to be the cause both of the cognition and of the doubt.

28. It may now be said that once doubt is caused, in whatever way, it is bound to enter into the reflective cognition (*anuvyavasāya*). The latter will not any longer be in a position to reveal the validity of the original cognition. One may try to wriggle out of this by saying that the doubt is *of the validity* and that in doubting, therefore, validity is already given. Such an answer is obviously inapplicable to the doubt as to the absence of non-validity. The truth is, the Siddhāntin concedes the force of the objection, since his doctrine is not affected thereby. He does not seek to maintain that reflective cognition reveals truth for all time, but only so long as the original cognition is not contradicted. The implication of this clause may be made clear by stating that truth is not manifested subsequent to the apprehension of the absence of relation between the object and the attribute (*tadvattvābhāva upasthiti*). Doubt has for its object the absence of the relation between the object and the attribute (*tadvattvābhāva*) and hence arises subsequently to the apprehension of that absence. That, at this stage, truth is not revealed by *anuvyavasāya* is admitted by the Siddhāntin.¹

29. The view of the Naiyāyika that truth is not self-evident in the cognition but has to be made known by other means, does not stand to reason. It is maintained by him that the truth of a cognition, say of water, is inferred from successful practical activity, our ability to use it for drinking, etc. But inference requires a major premise, a statement of concomitance between the major term (i.e., truth) and the middle term (i.e., any instance of successful practical activity); this concomitance must be based on instances of the co-presence and co-absence of the major term with the middle term; in the absence of the concomitance and the illustrative instances, no inference can be made as to the present cognition being true. Now, in the very first instance of cognition, how could there have been any inference, involving the use of the major term 'truth (*pramātva*)' which is *ex-hypothesi* not previously known? We are thus forced to the conclusion that knowledge is not possible at all unless we admit that at least in the initial stage truth is self-evident. If this much is admitted, the fact that truth is apprehended by other means also cannot take away from its essentially self-evident character. The opponent may imagine that at least a negative inference about the absence of error (or non-validity) is possible in the first instance of cognition; this might be possible, i

¹ On the discussion of doubt, see *PB*, 513, 514.

non-validity were self evident, but that is not so, in the view of either the objector or the Siddhanta, apramanya being always parato grāhya. Further, the absence of non validity does not necessarily lead to the inference that the conclusion is true, it only establishes a distinction from what is other than true, if it be taken as an instance of double negation, then the first negation would presuppose a knowledge of what is negated that is, of truth (and with this we are landed in our original difficulty), if it be taken as a concept applicable to what does not come within knowledge at all, and hence cannot be characterized either as valid or non-valid, then from the denial of non validity, no conclusion can be drawn as to truth.¹

30 Nor is it possible to say that the relation of the object to the attribute (tadvattva) being known through a different source of knowledge (say, the statement of some one else), this may lead up to the apprehension of truth as the major term in the suggested inference, for, this other means of knowledge has no claims superior to those of the original cognition (vyavasaya jñāna) in apprehending tadvattva, and reflective cognition supervening thereon may well manifest its truth, without the intervention of any inferential process.²

31 Further, the inference guaranteeing truth has to proceed with the help of a middle term. Thus the conclusion 'there is fire in the hearth' is true, because, whatever burns is fire and this thing in the hearth does burn. But how do we know in the first instance that burning is the property of fire? If through observation, what reveals the truth of it? It another inference he needed, we are on our old round. The only way out would seem to be the acceptance of the self evidence of truth.³

32 With this, however, we are far from admitting that every cognition is true or that there is nothing to differentiate true cognitions from erroneous ones in respect of their origination. The causes of cognition as such do not guarantee its truth, certain further accessories being required in the origination of a true cognition. It would follow from this that the quality of being truly known (pramatva) can be present only in what is effected. There

¹ PB, p 515

² The suggested inference guaranteeing truth involves knowledge of truth, which in turn has to be established if at all by another inference and so on endlessly. To get out of the infinite regress the opponent seeks to base the apprehension of truth on the apprehension of tadvattva etc., by some means of knowledge other than inference. The objection to this is that any other means of knowledge stands in no better case than the original cognition in respect of apprehending tadvattva. See PB p 515

³ PB, p 515 Apramanya is parato grāhya. The discussion of this along with the nature of error is reserved for a later article.

appear, however, to be some exceptions to this principle. Nila-*ghaṭatva* (the quality of being a blue pot) is knowable, but it does not reside barely in what-is effected ; substance is knowable, but it is not characteristic only of what is effected. In either case, there is a peculiarity to be noted. The quality of being a pot (*ghaṭatva*) is certainly characteristic of the effected ; it is the addition of the qualification 'blue' that leads us to say that the concept is not characteristic only of what is effected. This need not make any difference to the *pramātva* of the concept. We may introduce a qualification into our conception of *pramātva* and say that it is characteristic only of what is effected, except in the case of that which is already determined to be an effect, because of some distinctive features other than the one now specially cognized. The exception is not a true one, since it only proves the rule. Again, in the case of the concept of substance, a host of phenomena may be determined to be effects because of their possession of substantiality, but they cannot all be traced to a common cause. The presence of substantiality is not thus determinative of what is effected. This consideration leads us to qualify still further the conception of *pramātva* and say that it is characteristic only of what is effected except where a common cause cannot be discovered for a host of effects whose effectedness is determined by the concept whose *pramātva* is under consideration.¹

33. A further and apparently more serious difficulty arises from the consideration that knowledge is eternal and cannot be characteristic only of what is effected (and consequently impermanent). The reply is that we are here concerned not with the eternal wisdom, but with the temporal functioning of the intellect.²

34. It is true that no one characteristic or set of characteristics can be pointed to as distinctive of the origination of true knowledge ; but it is possible to point out such distinctive means of origination in the case of each *pramāṇa*, such as perception, etc. In the case of perception, what guarantees the truth of cognition is the contact of the sense-organs with many parts of the objects cognized.³ No explanation or justification is offered of this test. But evidently the perception of many parts is taken to warrant freedom at least from that kind of error which jumps to conclusions about the whole from the perception of a very small part, which runs away from the imagined snake when all that meets the eye is but the coiled appearance (of a piece of rope). It is worth noting that the test proposed is not very satisfactory. As pointed out later by the

¹ *PB*, p. 515.

² *Ibid.*

³ *PB*, 5, 516.

author of the *Advaita-Vedānta Paribhāṣā*¹, it fails where a jaundiced person persists in seeing the white shell as yellow in spite of repeated contact of the eye with the several parts of the shell; and it is manifestly inapplicable to the perception of the Self or of colour since neither of these has parts. The first of these objections could, perhaps, be met on the ground that a perfect condition of the sense-organs is an indispensable preliminary of all knowledge, and that what is here attempted is but the setting out of the further conditions operative in true knowledge. The second difficulty, however, is not so easily avoided. It would be interesting to know what the Siddhāntin has to say to it. No objections of any kind are raised or met in the works here under reference.

35. Reflection on a true ground or middle term is by some held to originate true inferential knowledge. But this view is defective, since it is obviously possible to arrive at an untrue conclusion even with the help of a true middle term, or to reach a true conclusion even though the middle term be not true. An example of the latter would be where the hill (which in fact is fiery) is inferred to be fiery on the ground of a mistaken cognition of mist as smoke. What brings about true inference is the uncontradicted knowledge of the presence of the major term in the minor (abādhita sādhyavatva pramā) or the knowledge that the minor as qualified by the middle also possesses the major. Now, we infer a conclusion in most cases not when we know already of the presence of the major in the minor; but we have at least a doubt that the major does so exist. In so far as this positive aspect of the doubt is not contradicted, we have what is necessary for the true inference. And even when the presence of the major term does not enter into our knowledge, as in the inference of the existence of elounds from the rolling of thunder, the Lord knows that the major exists in the minor and His knowledge provides the basis. And the formulation 'knowledge—that the minor as qualified by the middle possesses the major', serves to exclude even such error as occurs in joint cognition (samūhālambhiana pratyaya). Thus where a faggot and red beads are seen together to possess redness, the inference that the subject is fiery is valid only in the case of the faggot; for that alone as qualified by the middle term *redness* also possesses the major term *fieryness*.²

36. The view of true inference thus presented marks an advance on that which takes reflection on a true middle term to guarantee the truth of the inference. It may well be doubted, however, whether the advance is not made at the expense of the novelty of inference. If in inference there is already present (as originating it) the

¹ *AVP.*, pp. 264-265 (Calc. Univ. Edn.) ² *PB*, p. 516.

knowledge of the presence of the major in the minor, what is it that the process of inference brings about? In so far as it claims to prove anything, does it not beg the question, since the knowledge of the conclusion is presumed in any true inference? We are up against the Paradox of Inference, and the manner in which the Siddhāntin seeks to get over it is worthy of note. Inference may be applied even to what is already known, as when we demonstrate a truth for the benefit of another. In such a case there is no difficulty about novelty. When we infer for our own benefit, and the presence of the major in the minor is really in doubt, we still know that there is at least the possibility of that presence; and so long as that knowledge is not contradicted, we have all that is necessary for a true inference. The suggestion is valuable. But when that is accepted, we feel that after all we have nothing more in the origination of true inference than is present in the case of all inference; for, doubt and uncontradicted possibility of the presence of the major in the minor are characteristic of all inference, except that wherein the conclusion is already known. One may, therefore, feel with justification that the paratastva of inference, in respect of origination, has not been established.

37. As for reliable testimony, the condition which guarantees its truth is the speaker's knowledge of the true sense of what is spoken. It may be thought that *yogyatā* (compatibility) is the condition. But *yogyatā* means little more than the absence of ascertained lack of compatibility (*ananvaya niścaya viraha*); and this may characterize not merely truth, but also doubt. The requirement of knowledge on the part of him who declares, may be thought to be lacking in the case of the Vedas which are authoritative, but are said not to have an author. This does not concern the Siddhāntin, who holds that the Vedas, like the Śivāgamas, have been revealed by Śiva.

38. Here again, it is questionable whether for correct knowledge through testimony anything more is requisite than *tātparya* (purport) consisting in the fitness of words to convey a particular meaning. Dharmarājādhvarin, who sets forth this requirement in the *Advaita-Vedānta-Paribhāṣā* conceives of it as a necessary element of all Śabda jñāna. He does not, however, subscribe to the view that he who makes the statement should be aware of the purport. A parrot may make a statement, which, though not intended, is yet perfectly intelligible. A Vedic statement may be intelligible to one who rejects the idea of the Lord having revealed the Vedas. What is essential is *tātparya*, not *vaktr-tātparya-jñāna*.¹ Such a view lays

¹ *AVP*; pp. 213-214; also *JLA*, pp. 164-165.

itself open to the objection that he who made the original statement must in every case have known the purport, e.g., he who taught the words to the parrot. And so long as the Lord knew what He was about, when he revealed the Vedas, that knowledge is bound to function when the learner understands the Vedas, irrespective of his recognition of the Lord's authorship. But the point of the Vedāntin's criticism for our purpose must be sought not in the rejection of *yaktr-tātparya-jñāna*, but in the inclusion of *tātparya* among the essentials of all Śabda-jñāna, so that it is not an additional element distinctive of correct Śāhda-jñāna alone. We see, then, that the Siddhānta agrees with the Vedānta in accepting the self-evidence of knowledge, but differs in rejecting its self-dependence; but, in proving that true knowledge is dependent on conditions other than those characteristic of knowledge in general, it does not appear to have been very successful.

Note.—The works mainly relied on are *Pauṣkara Agama* (*PA*), *Pauṣkara Bhāṣya* (*PB*), *Saṅkīrti-Siddhānta-Paribhāṣa* (*SSP*), Śivāgri-Yogin's commentary on the *Sūtra-Jñāna-Bodha* (*SJBSgV*), *Adiśaṭa-Vedānta-Paribhāṣa* (*AVP*), *Indian Logic and Atomism* (*ILA*), and Śrīkaṇṭha Sūri's *Ratna-Traṭa* (*RTS*). Other abbreviations used are *RSSM* for *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* and *DCS* for *Der Čāra Siddhānta*.

A NOTE ON MARKS DETERMINATIVE OF PURPORT. (*Tātparya-liṅga*).

BY

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The marks, whereby the significance of a passage is to be determined, have been enumerated in a now well-known couplet :

“ Upakramopasam̄hārāvabhyāso ’pūrvatā phalam /
Arthavādopapattī ca liṅgam tātparyanirṇaye //.”

It is translated as follows by V. S. Ghate : “ The beginning, the end, the repetition, the novelty, the object, the glorification, and argument—these are the canons for determining the purport.”¹ According to the translation, the marks would appear to be seven in number. There are, however, only six of them, for the beginning (*upakrama*) and the end (*upasam̄hāra*) are to be considered not independently, but in their mutual relationship. That this is what is meant is much clearer from another couplet which enumerates the same marks, but with a slight difference :

“ Ādimadhyāntasaṅgānam abhyāso ’pūrvatā phalam /
Arthavādopapattī ca liṅgam tātparyanirṇaye // ”².

The first of the marks here mentioned makes it abundantly clear that what should be considered in determining the purport is the harmonious sense of the introductory and concluding passages as well as of those in the middle.

The couplet first cited occurs both in Madhva’s and Śrīkaṇṭha’s commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. It has been said³ that the latter (possibly both) took it from the *Tattvadīpana* of Akhaṇḍānanda, a thirteenth century writer. The alleged borrowing is used in the determination of the date of Śrīkaṇṭha. In reply to this, it has been pointed out⁴ that Prakāśātman, the preceptor of Akhaṇḍānanda has quoted the same verse, with a modification only in the last quarter. This modification, however, is sufficient to weaken any argument to the effect that the present couplet is as old as Prakāśātman.

¹ *The Vedānta*, p. 53.

² Quoted in Bhojadeva’s *Tattva-prakāśikā*, Śrī Kumāra’s commentary, p. 4.

³ “ The Date of Śrīkaṇṭha, etc.”, *JOR*, I, i.

⁴ *Jignyasa*, I, ii ; art : Śrīkaṇṭhācārya.

In these circumstances, it may be interesting to note that the couplet in question occurs in the *Lalita Trisatt Bhāṣya* ascribed to Śaṅkara. In commenting on the name *sārvāranyak-tatparya-bhāṣmī*,¹ the writer explains *tatparya* as *śāntam*; i.e., harmonious purport, the marks for determining which are contained in the couplet cited by him. It would thus appear that the couplet was at least as old as Śaṅkara.

It may, however, be thought that the *Trisatt Bhāṣya* may be one of the works erroneously ascribed to Śaṅkara. This possibility cannot be wholly disproved, but there is one circumstance which raises a strong presumption against it. The present commentator takes the Vedānta to teach the doctrine of non-dualism, and says that he does not exhibit how the doctrine is arrived at from the texts, since this has been already done under *Vedānta Sūtra* 1, 1, 4 (the *sārvāranya adhikarana*) and further repetition is needless.² Such a remark would be most appropriate on the supposition that the same author wrote both the commentaries. The supposition that not the *Sṛetraka-Bhāṣya*, but some other advaita-commentary is here referred to has little to recommend it; for, it is inconceivable that any lesser light of advaita would have referred to the *sārvāranya adhikarana* without mentioning the name of the great commentator in terms of humility and devotion. Further, the use of the word "established (pratiṣṭhāpitan)" would come most aptly from the mouth of Śaṅkara, the giant among advaitins, not from any other's.

¹ Memorial Edition of Śaṅkara's Works, xxiii, 257.

² akhandaśrībhāṣya tēḍāntīkādhyāyanīśī 'tattvā sārvāranyak-tatparyādī' ityadhikarane pratiṣṭhāpitanam śīḍalam atītīlareṇa

REVIEWS

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE IN INDIA

BY

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This volume is the third of the series, *University of Madras Economic Studies*, and may be regarded as a valuable addition to the economic literature bearing on Indian problems.

Students interested in Labour questions will have met other useful productions by Indian or European economists dealing with several of the topics handled in the work under review. There is, however, no duplication, no idle repetition. The author has the advantage of being more up to date than his predecessors in the field—witness his inclusion of, and comment upon, the Trade Unions Act of 1926, chapter xiv. The preceding chapter on the 'Evolution of Trade Unionism' presents the same advantage of completeness, and these two illustrations are by no means exhaustive. There is this, besides, that he takes, as he is legitimately entitled to do, a special point of view throughout, and works out systematically the central idea of Indian Industrial Welfare which he undertook to develop.

Whatever relates to the conditions of Indian Industrial Labour deserves the close attention of the Indian reading public. Even statistics, in spite of their proverbial dryness, would repay being scanned by them. The author's method will, therefore, prove doubly attractive, as he does not expose himself to the reproach of making Labour economics a dismal part of 'the dismal science.' One cannot fail to be struck by the neat and synthetical mode of treatment which he applies, for choice of an example among others, to the subject of Indian Factory Legislation : the guiding principles underlying it are stated at the outset, and the comparison with similar legislation in England further enhances the excellence of the process followed by the author.

In short, clearness, sobriety in judgment, the marked absence of querulous rhetoric, thoroughness in essentials and the elimination of digressions and irrelevant details are conspicuous throughout Mr. Lokanathan's original piece of work.

Thanks to the discovery of the 'Indus Valley Civilisation', Saivism is proved beyond doubt to be pre-Aryan. From the objects found in the excavations of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, it is evident, that people of those times were worshipping Śiva both in the anthropomorphic and Linga forms⁵. Further, the Śakti cult also has its relics in the excavations. At Harappa Linga seals and objects continued to be discovered until as late as 1946.⁶ Almost all the qualities that are attributed to Śiva in later Hinduism, are found in embryo in the seals and objects discovered there. One seal is very important.⁷ The representation of Śiva having more than one face, his being Mohayogi in yogic posture, his being lord of beasts 'Pasupati', and his wearing trident, have all their foundation in the image in the seal. But by that time, the bull does not appear to have been absorbed in the Saiva cult, and had an independent place in worship.⁸

John Marshall avers that the word Śiva was derived from a Dravidian root meaning 'Red'.⁹ Besides, Śiva is identified with Aiyānār of Southern India.¹⁰ Further, Father Heras has also demonstrated that Mohenjo-Daro culture was Proto Dravidian in character. By the above and other indications, we can safely conclude, that the cult of Śiva and his worship in the form of Linga were co-ordinated and existed, as early as Indus Valley Civilisation, which was undoubtedly pre-Aryan by some Millennia.¹¹

This pre-Aryan Śiva became identified with Vedic Rudra in later times. There are some indications to find out, when this identification was completely effected. Except God Rudra, Śiva, does not find a place in the Vedic Pantheon, though the word is found a number of times.¹² The words 'Śivāyoca-Śivatarāyaca' in Śatruudriya did not attain that denotation. The very use of the comparative degree in the text is proof positive that the words were used in the sense "auspicious, and more auspicious".¹³ All scholars agree that until Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad Śiva, as the name of a God, did not come into use, and the identification with Rudra did not take place. In Rgveda, Rudra was a benevolent God, and by the time

5 Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation John Marshall Vol I pp 48 57
Further excavations in Mohenjo-Daro pp 407 412 408 570

6 Bulletin of Archaeological Survey of India Ancient India No 3 Jan 1947

7 Mohenjo Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation Plate XII No 17
History and Culture of the Indian People Vol I Vedic Age p 163

8 Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilisation p 55

9 Śiva (Chiva) = red Sambhu (sembu) = copper History and Culture of the Indian People Vedic Age p 162

10 I shall say more about this when I treat Tamil Śivasiddhanta

11 The cult of Śiva is a characteristic of the People of Sind History and Culture of the Indian people Vedic Age pp 158 161 162

12 Chambers Encyclopaedia Vol No IX p 418

13 It is used as an adjective like a host of others

of Atharva-Vēda he became both beneficent and terrible to be propitiated. If we carefully read Śatarudrīya we will come to the conclusion, that Rudra was transforming into the God of thieves, robbers and wild tribes. All these qualities were already attributed by aborigines and Dasyus to Śiva. This was the gradual transformation which ultimately led to the identification of Rudra, and Śiva. In this connection, it is significant that even to this day, there are aboriginal tribes, who though beyond the pale of Hinduism as such, worship Śiva and Śakti. From the Atharva-Vēda, we find that Śiva was a God of Vrātyas, whose permission had to be sought by Āryans for the performance of a sacrifice.¹⁴ From this we conclude that at the time of Atharva-Vēda, there were those who performed, and those who opposed sacrifices. This refers to a period of intermixture of the Āryans and Ādivāsis. Śiva, who was the God of Ādivāsis was elevated to a position of Vēdic God.^{14a}

1

I shall now try to find out when the word 'Linga' came to mean the 'Phallus'. Linga comes from a root meaning 'stick'. But sanskrit grammarians connect it with a root meaning 'doing' 'performing'. 'Laguḍa' 'Lakuṭa' 'Lāngūla' are such words.¹⁵ The word did not come to mean 'Phallus' definitely in the Vēdic period, because the word in that denotation does not occur in any of the earlier Saṁhitas. In 'Taithirīya-Nārāyaṇōpaniṣad' the word 'Lingāya' occurs many times. Among them there is one 'Ūrdhava Lingāya'. This word should not be taken to mean 'of raised organ', but should be interpreted to mean 'a deity worshipped by celestials also in the shape of Linga'.^{15a} We thus see that by that time the word 'Linga' did not come to be applied to the 'male organ'. By examination of the various places where the word occurs, we find that anterior to Pāṇini the word meant only a symbol or sign.¹⁶ If not, the word could not have been applied in all the three genders.

The above Anuvāka in the Nārāyaṇōpanisad gives a clue into the reason why Śiva was worshipped in the form of Linga.^{16a} The

14. Śaiva Paribhāṣā. Mysore University. (Introduction).

14a. This idea of mixture was beautifully brought out in a number of novels written by Shri K. M. Munshi in Gujarati. Some of them have been translated into Telgu by Pandit Anjaneya Śarma of the Dakṣiṇā Bhārat Hindi Prachār Samiti, Hyderabad.

15. History and Culture of the Indian People. Vēdic Age p. 163.

15a. "Sāyana's commentary on Taittirīyāraṇyaka." Ānandāśrama edition. Vol II, p. 838.

"ऊर्ध्वलोकेष्वपिगीवर्णैः लिंगरूपेण स्थापयित्वा पूज्यमानायेत्यर्थः ॥

16. "The Linga appears to be both in its form and name as Austric or Proto-Austroloid origin."

16a. "लीयंते यत्रभूतानि निर्गच्छति पुनः पुनः ।
तेन लिंगं परं व्योम निष्कलः परमश्चिवः ॥" (Sūtasamhitā).

interpretation given above supplies the reason Linga the symbol of Śiva, transcends space. It begins beneath the earth, passes through the sky to the third world, where it is worshipped by Devas. Its shapelessness (formlessness), and endlessness were thus brought out. This quality gives it a unique significance.

It is in the post-Vēdic literature that the word 'Linga' has come to mean 'Phallus' on the principle of analogy or Lakṣanā. In the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā there are six 'capacities of showing the meaning of a word', and Linga is one of them.¹⁷ There 'Linga' means one of such capacities. This new meaning that the word attained was exploited by the Purānic Hinduism, and stories were woven over it. Further this interpretation of the word is carried back, and the original symbolism was forgotten. This idea had proved a handle for the interested foreigners to cast aspersions on India and Hindu Culture. Some of our own scholars have followed them in this insinuation.¹⁸

Further, image-worship is alien to Rgveda, but Śaivism mainly depends upon the Linga worship. Therefore, the stories that are woven round the idea of Śiva Linga ought to belong to the times of Purānic Hinduism. This application of post-Vēdic and Purānic mythology to a pre-Vēdic cult, and to decide a question a priori is neither research nor history. "The Pre-Aryan Śaivism has a definite belief in one supreme being, that being Śiva, and therefore it is against the very conception of the Rgvedic people".¹⁹

I will now quote the opinion of Father Heras about this question who deals it from another point of view. "In the late Vedic period when Viswāmitra led ten tribes against Bhāratha, whose king Sudāś was the patron of his rival Vaśiṣṭha, he gathered round him Aryan and Dravidian tribes". The Alinas and Śivas were certainly Dravidians.²⁰ We therefore understand, that by the late Vēdic period there was a Dravidian tribe called 'Śivas' which should have been the 'Śaiva sect'. Further, it is stated that the Aryans accepted the ancient Dravidian God AN or ĀNDIVANAM. "This God was finally worshipped by all Aryans but they called him Śiva for He

Bhandarkar takes the time still later as far as the time of Patatanjali Śaivism Vaishnavism and minor systems of religion p 115 Vatsyayana does not use the word Linga

17 Srti Linga Vakya Prakarana Sthana and Samakhya

18 The latest instance may be quoted in the words of Shri K M Munshi. As regards Śiva Linga Mr Bullit has resurrected a doubtful view of the proto-historic origin of a religious cult and insinuated a vulgar attribute to a living and religious faith round the Linga which for centuries has been accepted as the formless embodiment of God Śiva (Hindu dated 21-10-51)

19 Introduction to Mystic teachings of Handasas of Karnataka—Father Heras

20 What India Thinks New Vistas in Indian History —Father Heras p 118

was worshipped by the Śivas (Śaivas).²¹ This is corroborated by Banerji when he says, "the Vēdic literature contains no reference to any female deity to which the Durga or the Devi of the present might even approximate. Even Śiva and Viṣṇu as they are represented in worship at the present, contain elements of non-Āryan origin. Śiva with his emblem is evidently a non-Āryan deity, whose admission to Indo-Āryan Pantheon caused bitter strife."²² It has even been averred that the culture that Agastya brought from the North to the South was, what some time before carried from the South to the North, and which was brought back.²³ Discussing what he calls 'Āryanisation of the South' Father Heras pertinently asks, 'Was Śiva acquainted with the Vēdas? Was he not himself a God of Dravidians in his original denomination Āndivanam? Brahma and Viṣṇu were unknown to southerners. Śiva was their own God well known to them.'²⁴

"As there is a reference to Śiva in Ṛgvedic life, Śiva may not be a later intruder in the Hindu pantheon." So a scholar says.²⁵ I have examined carefully the references given. Ṛgvēda II.i.6. and II.xxi.9. do not contain the word Śiva. So these references do not help the scholar's theory. The third reference X.92.9. contains the word Śiva but it is used in the meaning "Sukhakarāḥ" and has no reference to actual God Śiva.²⁶

Strata in Saivism.

I shall now deal with the question of different strata in Saivism, generally current in India, before militant Viraśaivism rose with the advent of Basava in the Karnāṭaka country. These strata may be stated as follows:—

1. (i) Śuddha Saivism.
(ii) Kāshmiri Saivism.
2. Śaivasiddhānta of Tamils.
3. Miśra Saivism.
4. Sāmānya Saivism.
5. Viraśaivism.

21. Ibid., p. 119. (Brackets are mine.)

22. Pre-historic Ancient and Hindu India. Banerji. p. 19.

23. "From the South they (Āgamas) seem to have pushed up north, and then later to have turned back to the South, when they helped to drive Jainism and Buddhism."—Śaivasiddhānta—Violet Paranjoti. p. 3.

24. What India Thinks. p. 118.

25. Vēdic Age. p. 189.

26. Ṛgbhāṣya, Maxmuller. Vol. 4, p. 299.

I shall say a few words about them seriatum²⁷

1 (1) This was the continuation of the pristine pre-Āryan Saivism gradually influenced by Āgamas and Purāṇic Hinduism Among the votaries of this cult the following may be mentioned

- (1) Pāsupatas
- (2) Kāpālikas
- (3) Kālāmukhas
- (4) Gōrakṣanātha sect
- (5) Rāsēsvāra sect

About the 10th and 11th centuries Pasupata sect was widely diffused from Rajasthān to Mysore, and seems to have penetrated into Āndhra Desa in the east Kāpālika does not seem to have entered the Āndhra Dēśa, but Kālāmukhas are seen there particularly in Guntur District The other sects flourished in the North These sects practised all the rituals ordained in the Āgamas including the wearing of the Linga, though it was not considered compulsory²⁸

1 (ii) Kāshmirī Śaivism^{28a} does not appear to have made any head-way in Southern India Tradition says that Śiva himself, seeing the decadence of Śaiva cult, asked Dūrvāsa to revive it He in his turn taught it to his three sons, Tryambaka, Āmaradaka and Srinātha What he taught to his first two sons became Kāshmirī Śaivism, and that taught to his third son became Siddhānta of the South This tradition has to be examined, because both the schools differ widely The two above sects appear to have observed Varnāśramadharma

2 I now come to the Śaivasiddhānta According to the tradition, its followers claim it to be indigenous "It has been said that the Āgamas represent the old products of Dravidian literature, that in prehistoric times they were written in the Dravidian (Tamil) language, and that a great part of them was lost in a flood which swept over the land south of Cape Comorin, the chief dwelling place of the old Dravidas Only remnants of the old Āgamas

²⁷ 'शैव चतुर्विधप्रोक्त समासाच्छृण्यपणमुख
सामान्य मिथ्रक चैव शुद्धवीर यथात्रम्'

Vatulagama

²⁸ The boundaries of these cults cannot be distinctly drawn Its (Pasupata) earliest traces are found in Huviṣka's coin A.D 125-140 Fleet J.R.A.S 1907 p 419 Bhandarkar J.R.A.S p 151 They think that Lakulisa Pasupata was the original sect from which all the others sprang Lakula was probably the author of Paucadhyayi in the First Century B.C — Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics Vol XI p 91

^{28a} Pratyabhijna school

were translated into Sanskrit, and preserved in this form." "In fact the roots of Śaivism are deeply imbedded in the classical lore of the Tamils, the Sangam literature."²⁹

Apart from the truth or otherwise of the above tradition, scholars have been of the view that Śaivasiddhānta of the Tamils is indigenous, independant, and more ancient than the Śaivism, which prevails in other parts of India. I shall quote a few opinions:—

"It (Siddhānta) is peculiarly the south Indian and Tamil religion Śaivism is the old prehistoric religion of South India, essentially existing from the pre-Āryan times, and holds sway over the hearts of the Tamil people."³⁰

"This system (Siddhānta) possesses the merits of great antiquity in the religious world. It is heir to all that is most ancient in Southern India. It is a religion of Tamil people, by the side of which every other form is comparatively foreign religion."³¹

"While it (Siddhānta) prevailed in South India even before Christian Era, it received a great accession of strength from its opposition to Buddhism and Jainism, which along with Vaiṣṇavism, it overcame about the 5th or 6th century before Christ."³²

3. Miśra Śaivism claims the largest number of devotees in the Hindu Society. Ordinarily the followers of this sect believe in other deities with a predeliction towards Śiva. They wear the ashes, and take part more heartily in the worship of Śiva. The chief feature of this cult is its toleration towards other cults, though it has a partiality towards Śiva. Votaries of this perform what is called "Pancāyatana-pūja", but place the Śiva linga in the centre as the most important. The following is the placing of the five idols.

शं—शंकर

ना—नारायण

र—रवि

ग—गणपति

दे—देवी



4. There are some Śaivas who, believing Śiva as the supreme deity, do not follow all the rituals pertaining to the cult, as laid

29. Śaivasiddhānta. Violent Paranjoti. p. 3; Introduction and History of Śaivasiddhānta. G. Subramanya Pillai. p. 1.

30. Dr. G. U. Pope. 31. Rev. C. Gowdi. 32. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.

down in the Āgamas They worship Linga when they see it, and do not wear it always as the more orthodox sects do This may be called Sāmānya Śaivism

5 The last is Virashaivism Some believe that it began with Basavēsvara But from a perusal of the Āgamas one has to conclude that it is mentioned in them long before Basava

"विशब्द वा विकल्पार्थं रशब्दो रहितार्थं ।

विकल्परहितशेषवीरक्षेवप्रचथते ।"^{32a}

Wearing of Linga in one of the five places is compulsory for them

"शिवलिंग कराद्यगे वीरशैवस्तु पारयेत्"^{32b}

Virashaiva rituals are very rigid He should worship his own Linga in his hand, and should not eat anything which is not offered to that Linga

The later Virashaiva cult, which is now-a-days called Lingayat cult, of which Basava is the initiator, is more militant and intolerant than the old Virashaivism

There is an initiation ceremony called Dikṣā, which is an important ritual It is a prerequisite for participation in esoteric rituals^{32c} After Dikṣā, Āgamas say, that no caste distinction should be observed

Literature

I will now say a few words about the literature of this religion Śaivism principally depends upon Āgamas, which some say were originally written in Tamil, and all except one were translated into Sanskrit There are others who say that all the 28 Āgamas were originally written in Sanskrit, one of which was translated into Tamil³³ Until Virashaivism came into being as an aggressive religion, Vēdas also were considered authoritative along with Āgamas But it must be admitted that there was a greater swing towards Āgamas "The siddhānta writers were, however, of opinion, either that the sources (Āgamas and Vēdas) are of equal importance or, if one has more merit than the other, it is the Āgamas that rank comparatively higher"³⁴ Tirumūlār says that as between Vēdas

32a Viragama

32b Vatulagama

32(c) "वीरमाहेश्वरप्राह्य, शिवाद्वंतप्रकाशक,
परीक्षितेभ्यो दातव्य, शिष्येभ्यो नान्यथाक्वचित्"

33 JAOS Vol II Syllabuses of the Śivajnanabodham Hoisington p 137

34 Śaivasiddhanta Violet Paranjoti p 5

and Āgamas, the former are general, and the latter special, and that both are revelations of God.³⁵

While originally Śaivism was pre-Āryan, it came to be followed in later times by the Āryans including all the four castes. Brahmins held both the sources as authoritative and non-Brahmins depended upon Āgamas.³⁶ Śaivism in South India became therefore a religion mainly of non-Brahmins. This is supported by another fact. The Nāyanārs (63 in number)^{36a} as the most important expounders of the cult are non-Brahmins. Besides, there are a large number of muṭṭs in South India presided over by non-Brahmin Sanyāsis. The Āgamas are exclusively Śaiva in character, and the Vēdas are general authority for almost all cults. For the learned, both the sources appealed. In south India though the mass of Śaivas are non-Brahmins, they could follow the Siddhānta, because there was a large body of literature in Tamil, based on Āgamas, which was adequate for understanding, practice, and realisation. Vēdas and Āgamas therefore became subsidiary.

Conditions elsewhere, especially in Karnāṭaka and Āndhra Dēśa were different. The whole of Śaiva literature being in Sanskrit, was not understood by the masses. Therefore the strings of religion remained in the hands of Brahmins. A reaction therefore came, hating the Brahmins, discarding the caste system, and refusing the authority of the Vēdas. But the Āgamas retained their sanctity, which continued even under the aegis of the militant Viraśaivism.

Apart from the above literature on the Śaiva cult, there were some learned men, especially Brahmins, who brought Śaivism to the level of Vēdāntic system of philosophy, by commenting upon Brahmasūtras and other basic Vēdāntic works, at the same time expounding Śiva as the Supreme Lord. Sri Kanṭhaśivācārya, Srīpati Paṇdita, Mallikārjuna Paṇditārādhya and many others belong to this galaxy of learned men.

Besides, there is a large mass of Purāṇic literature expounding the supremacy of Śiva, out of which Sūtasamhitā is considered most authoritative. It mentions the Agamas, as also Buddhism and Jainism. Therefore the Āgamas should have preceded Sūtasamhitā.

35. Tirumantiram VII. p. 276.

36. They are 28 in number. They are as follows:— Kāmika; Yōgaja; Chintya; Kāraṇa; Ajita; Dipta; Sūksma; Sāhasra; Amśumān; Suprabhēda; Vijaya; Niśvāsa; Swāyambhuva; Amala; Vīra; Raurava; Mākuta; Vimala; Chandrājnāna; Bimba; Udgīta; Lalita; Siddha; Santāna; Sarvōkta; Pāramēśwara; Kiraṇa Vātūla. These Agamas are also called Tantras or Śaivasiddhānta Samhitās.

36a. Cf. Puṣpadanta's Jain work called "Tisat̄timahāpuruṣagunālāṅkāra" where also 63 is the number of Mahāpuruṣas.

Śankarācārya, who flourished about 6th century A D mentions Sūtasamhitā, and Manickavācaka who flourished earlier mentions the Āgamas. Therefore chronologically, they may be placed in the early centuries of the Christian Era. Their authority is accepted by all Śaiva sects, including those who do not believe in Vēdas and Caste system.

There is one question on which there is a difference of opinion. Some are of the view that the wearing of Linga was not compulsory, and that great Māhēśwaras did not wear it. There are others who say, that it is one of the chief tenets of the cult. We find from the excavations in Mohenjo-Dāro and Harappa, that there are small Lingas, which John Marshall and others believe to be such as Śaivas carried along with their person. Āgamas contain definite instructions that Linga should be worn by Vira-Śaivas, thereby hinting that it may not be compulsory for the others.

II

SAIVISM—IN ANDHRA DÉŚA BEFORE BASAVA³⁷

The Andhras and the Kanaṭkas inhabited the Deccan proper. They are neighbours, lived in contiguous regions, and their relations therefore were near. For many centuries both the races were under the rule of the same powers. The scripts of their languages were also akin to each other. Their languages were both of Dravidian character. Therefore the conditions under which Śaivism flourished in both places were almost the same. Srīsaīlam³⁸ otherwise called Śriparvata had been from time immemorial the religious meeting ground of both the communities. Their religious gurus lived there, and pilgrims gathered in large numbers both for worshipping the God, and serving religious masters for their grace.

Though Vaishnavism entered the Deccan, Śaivism held the field. South India was the home of Vaishnavism more than the Deccan. Even to-day general Śaivism claims more followers in Andhra Dēśa than Vaishnavism. Srīsaīlam is to Śaivas, what Śrīrangam is to Vaishnavas. Buddhism and Jainism were also flourishing in the Deccan. Śaivism as was practised at that time, did not dispense with Varnāsrama-dharma completely, while both Buddhism and Jainism discarded it. That is the reason why both the latter became popular as against

³⁷ Introduction to Basavapurānam V Prabhakara Sastry p. 67

³⁸ Mentioned by Huân-T-Siêng as 'Po-Lô-Mo-lo-Ki-Li'. But recent researches identify Śriparvata with Nagarjunalōndā.

Śaivism which retained many of the customs of Vēdic religion. Buddhists and Jains also made Śrīśailam their stronghold.

The advent of Śankarācārya's Advitism towards the 6th century A.D. into the Deccan, was a blow to all the existing cults. Śaivism suffered along with Buddhism and Jainism. Later, Ramānuja's Vaiṣṇavism also came here, but occupied a subsidiary position. This was the background in which militant Viraśaivism took its birth. Along with Basava some Pandits arose both in Āndhra and Karnāṭaka who tried to save Śaivism from the danger. These stalwarts may be mentioned as follows:—

In Karnāṭaka

1. Basava
2. Ēkāntarāmiah
3. Padmarasu

In Āndhra

1. Śrīpati Pañdita³⁹
2. Sivaleṅka Mancana
3. Mallikārjuna Pañdita

We understand that many forms of Śaivism were prevalent in Āndhra Dēśa at that time. Āgamas were high authorities for the Siddhānta. The teachings of Nāyanārs and their lives became objects of praise. The Siddhānta from South wielded great influence on Śaivism in the Deccan. We have already noticed that Pāśupata Kālāmukha cults spread over the Deccan including Āndhra Dēśa. But as has already been stated, the caste system found an honourable place in the daily life of Śaivas. They could not completely discard the authority of Vēdas. One of the great Śaiva Pañdits is said to have exclaimed "I cannot discard my relations with the caste system Oh! Basavalinga". However much these Pañdits attempted, they were not successful in stemming the tide of Advitaism and Jainism.

The western Cālukyas were Jains and gave every prop to Jainism. So also were the rulers in Āndhra Dēśa. History tells us that almost all religions flourished under royal patronage. Sometimes persuasion, other times persecution, patronage often-times, became the methods by which religions extended their influence.

39. The families of 1 and 2 are still flourishing. Introduction to Panditārādhya Charitam. Dr. C. Narayana Rao.

Towards 1155 A.D. an incident happened which is a landmark in the history of Śaivism in the Decean.

Bijjala, who was a feudatory of Cālukya Emperors of Kalyāṇi seized power and became independent. Cālukyas at that time had to save themselves from Kākatiyas in the North, and Hoyasālas in the South. This proved an opportunity for Bijjala. Inscriptions say that he was originally a Jain, but Basava a remarkable man, conscious of a divine purpose, became his prime-minister. He was a very staunch Śaivite, and with the help of Bijjala, whom he converted, he spread the castless, militant Viraśaivism. The disowning of Varṇāśramadharma, and the use of every means to spread Śaivism were the two cardinal features of this cult. The same tradition, ritual, and other austeries of Śaivism mentioned in Āgamas were followed most scrupulously. There is no doubt that Basava used force for the spread and preservation of the cult. Buddhism and Jainism which held the field so far had to retire. For nearly a century Viraśaivism was spread with missionary zeal.⁴⁰

Tradition and Literature.

The tradition was what was founded on Āgamas. Unlike Siddhānta of Tamils, Andhra Śaivism lacked indigenous literature for a long time, and had to depend on the Āgamas and Purāṇas only. Subsequently other works were written, but even they were in Sanskrit. Unless the doctrines are treated in popular language, the spread of the cult cannot be wide and quick. The fact that caste system was discarded by Viraśaivism gave a leaven to some extent for its spread, but popular literature was a desideratum.

We have seen before that Śiva had five faces. The tradition says that five Ācāryas sprang from these, and have been appearing in each yuga. The following different names of these Ācāryas in different yugas are accepted by tradition.

Names in the Four Yugas.⁴¹

<u>ORIGINAL</u>	<u>KRTA</u>	<u>TRĒTA</u>	<u>DVĀPARA</u>	<u>KALI</u>
Vīra	Ekākṣara	Eka-Vaktra	Rēnuka	Revanasiddha
Nāndi	Dvyakṣara	Dvi-Vaktra	Dāruka	Marulasiddha
Bhrugu	Tryakṣara	Tri-Vaktra	Gajakarna	Ekōrāma
Vṛṣa	Caturakṣara	Catur-Vaktra	Ghantakarna	Pāñditārādhya
Skanda	Pancākṣara	Pañca-Vaktra	Viśvakarna	Viśvārādhya

It is also believed that in Kali-yuga there were five muṭṭis

40. Basavapurāṇam. Introduction. V. Prabhakara Sastry. p. 57.

41. Pālkurika Sōmanātha Kavi. B. Thammayya. p. 23.

established by the five above Ācāryas respectively, situated in the following places.

- i. Kolanupāka (Hyderabad State)
- ii. Ujjini (Mysore State)
- iii. Himavatkēdara (North India)
- iv. Śrīśailam (Kurnool District)
- v. Kāśī (Benaras)

Tradition also says that the muṭṭ at Kolanupāka was transferred to Bālehonnur (Mysore State) even during the time of Rēnuka, because perhaps the Jain influence that existed there before had died down. The muṭṭ at Śrīśailam is now at Guntakal under the name 'Bhikṣāvṛtti muṭṭ'. The others are where they were.⁴²

I shall now mention two points on which there is acute difference of opinion.

- i. Was there Vīraśaivism before Basava?

- ii. Did wearing of Liṅga exist prior to the advent of Basava.

The second question depends upon the first, and so the first point deserves notice. We have already seen that Vātūlāgama mentioned the existence of Vīraśaivism. Its chief features and rituals also were given, of which wearing of Liṅga is an important one. The term Vīraśaiva also is as old as Āgamas. Āgamas are undoubtedly prior to the advent of Basavēśwara. We have also spoken about a ritual called 'Dīkṣā'. This initiation lays down very rigid rules with regard to the following:—

- i. Vibhūti
- ii. Rudrākṣa
- iii. Pādōdaka
- iv. Liṅgārcana
- v. Liṅgadhāraṇa^{42a} and
- vi. Prasādasvīkarāṇa.

Discarding all other Gods, and intolerance of other cults, are the two chief characteristics ordained to a Vīraśaiva. This intolerance

42. Ibid; Introduction to Rēnukavijayam. C. Veerabhadrā Sarma p. 35. The Mahārāṣṭra tradition appears to be different. A friend of mine, a great scholar, by the name Chidiremaṭham Veerabhadrā Sarma a Lingāyat, was called upon by Bhaktas to preside over the Viśvārādhya muṭṭ at Benares. He was annointed over the muṭṭ for some years, and attained Nirvāṇa recently. These muṭṭs have diffused themselves in later times, and now there are innumerable Śaiva muṭṭs throughout the country.

42a. “मूर्धनकंठेभुजेहस्तेहृतस्थले नाभिमंडले”

(Vātūlāgama). The term Vīraśaiva occurs frequently in Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi, and there is a separate Paricchēda completely on Liṅgadhāraṇa. Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi Paricchēda 6.

took the shape of persecution at the hands of Basva and others. But this method does not appear to have been vigorously followed in Andhra Dēśa. There are some signs of Jainism having suffered in places like Pudūr, Jōgipet, Kolanupāka and Alampūr. But this is little, when compared with what was done elsewhere. This is the chief reason why the militant, aggressive Lingāyat cult is more prevalent in Karnātaka than in Andhra. In Andhra the cult appears to have been mellowed by the influence of the neighbouring Sāmānya Śaivism.

There is definite evidence that there were small Lingas which were capable of being carried on one's person, in Mohenjo-Dāro findings, and John Marshall avers their existence and use. When we admit the first point, we cannot but admit the other. But there was compulsory wearing of Linga after Dīksā. We have already seen that this was not observed by all Śivadvijas (Āradhayas) wore Lingas in their necks, along with the sacred thread.

I shall now turn to their religious literature. Upto the advent of Basava, and for some time after, Āgamas formed the relevant literature. Along with Āgamas, the most important works of this period may be stated as follows —

- i Śrikanṭhabhbhaṣya by Śrikanṭhasivācāya⁴³ A.D. 980
- ii Śiddhantaśikhāmanī by Śvayogisivacārya About 8th century A.D.^{43a}
- iii Śrikarabhbhaṣya by Śripatipandita 12 century A.D.
- iv Rēnukavijayacampū by Isanaśivaguru 10 century A.D.
- v Rēnukavijaya by Śiddhanatha⁴⁴ A.D. 960
- vi Kriyāsāra by Nilakanthāeārya
- vii Śivatatravatnākara by Keladi Basavana^{44a}
- viii Isānasivagurupaddhati by Isānasivacārya^{44b}

All the above works are now available in print.

There was a particular hierarchy of Śaivasiddhas belonging to Gōlakimāṭha⁴⁵. Among this brotherhood, one Sōmaśambhu wrote a Paddhī in his own name. Members of this muṭṭ diffused them-

43 Some say that this work is older than Śankara's commentary. The following guruparampara is given: Śiva-Skanda-Vamadeva-Śrikanṭha (Śivadvaitā-nirṇaya Introduction S S Sastri)

43a It is in the form of a conversation between Renuka and Agastya

44 The last verse gives this date

44a Last part of 17th century and the beginning of 18th century A.D.

44b Nos 4 and 8 are by the same author

45 Introduction to Basavapurānam pp. 75, 76

selves throughout the country. It is said that one of them was a Dīkṣā-guru of a Kalacuri King.⁴⁶ A branch came to the South, and went as far as Kēraḷa, and established minor muṭṭs. One of the members Īśānaśivācārya was the guru of Emperor Rājarāja Cōla, and wrote the work mentioned above in No. 8, which is considered very authoritative. From Kēraḷa, a branch came to the Telugu country, a member of which Viśvēśvara Śivācārya became the guru of Emperor Gaṇapati Rudradēva of Warangal.⁴⁷ He established many muṭṭs, the most important of which was at Mandadām. The branch continued to live in the Āndhra country.⁴⁸ Aghōraśivācārya, a famous member of this brotherhood, had many Brāhmaṇ families as his disciples. This brotherhood played a great part for nearly three centuries in the Āndhra Dēśa. The influence of this order to a great extent softened the militant Vīraśaivism there. Many Vīraśaiva families retained their Vēdic rights, and their religious tolerance, in spite of their being Śaivas. Only one ācāra was discarded. Along with all other Śaiva sects these Ārādhyas also adopted burial of the dead, and gave up the age-long practice of cremation.

Towards this time a very important circumstance happened, which stopped to a large extent the spread of non-Vēdic religions. Nannayabhaṭṭa, the first Telugu poet wrote Mahābhārata at the bidding of his patron Rājarājanarēndra, who, seeing the decay of Vēdic religion, ordered Nannaya to translate Mahābhārata into Telugu, the language of the people. This circumstance served much to stop the spread of non-Vēdic faiths in Āndhra Dēśa proper.

There is a unique feature among the Āndhras, which distinguishes them from other races. The education of every child begins with "Om, Namaḥ, Śivāya". This is the index of the sway, Śiva and Śaivism have over Āndhra people.

When we look into the derivation of the word Telugu, and its undoubted connection with 'Triglipon' and 'Trilingon', the presence of Liṅga in the words 'Trilingas', as the name of race, and 'Triliṅga' as the name of the country and language of the people, we cannot but feel, that there is an indissoluble, and perennial connection between "Trilingas" and Liṅga worship. To derive the word

46. Malkāpur Inscription.

47. “विद्यामंटपवर्तिनं गणपतिक्षमापालदीक्षागुरुं,
श्रीविश्वेश्वरशंभुमीक्षितवतांतेचक्षुषीचक्षुषी”

Malkāpur Inscription).

48. Preface to Īśānaśivagurudēvapaddhati, Mahāmahōpādhyāya Haraprasada Sastry. (Trivandrum Edition),

Triliṅga from the Kākatiya empire is not historical, because the word Triliṅga existed before the Kākatiya Empire.⁴⁹

WRITERS OF THE INTERIM PERIOD

I gave six names of great Śaiva writers and preachers of this period. Three of them were from Kārṇāṭaka and the other three from Āndhra. Many of them appear to be more or less contemporaries of Basavēśvara. Basava himself saw the necessity of writing in the language of the people, and preferred song to prose. Song would appeal to the people more easily. His songs are called 'Vacans', meaning "sayings". Many of them are sung even to-day, and some of them have been translated into Telugu. If Basava knew Sanskrit was doubtful. He used to sing his songs himself, preach, and get converts.

Ēkāntarāmiah was a native of Kuntala country, and was a devotee of Śiva from his childhood.⁵⁰ There was a Sōmanātha temple in his native town. He was so devoted to God Sōmanātha that he visited almost all the Sōmanātha temples in South India. While he was worshipping Sōmanātha at Lakṣmeśvar, in Dharwar district, he got a divine inspiration to settle at Ablur, where he defeated many great Jain pandits in disputations. He was responsible for many conversions in Kārṇāṭaka country. He was an unswerving devotee of Śiva, and therefore called Ēkāntarāmiah.

Padmarasu was a grandson of Śivayōgimallikārjuna. He belonged to an aristocratic family, and was for a time minister under a petty chieftain. After some time he settled at Bēlur, and once, at the invitation of King Ballala of Dvārasamudram, he went there, and defeated a Vaiṣṇava pandit, whereupon, the defeated pandit was converted. Subsequently, he advanced the spread of Śaivism, finally went to Banaras, and attained Nirvāṇa. He wrote some works in Sanskrit which served a great deal in propagating the cult.⁵¹

A few words, about the three Āndhra writers who were called Pañditatraya. Śrīpati pañdita was an Āndhra brāhmaṇ and was a native of Vijayawāda on the banks of Kishna river. He is said to be the guru of Anantapāla, a general under Vikramāditya VI of

49. Lakshmanarāya vyāsāvali. The word 'Triliṅga' is contained in Siddhāntasīkhāmāṇi. Vide F.N. 56 p. 18. It is a work written in 8th century A.D. before Kākatiya Empire.

50. Introduction to Basavapurāṇam p. 52

51. Sānandacaritam; Diksabōdhini. (Translated into Telugu)

Western Cālukya dynasty.⁵² His family is still existing at Elakurru, a village in Gudivada Taluq of Krishna district. Mention has already been made of a commentary he wrote to the Brahmasūtras. Though tradition couples him with the other pandits, he appears to be at least half a century prior to Basava. His name is remembered as that of one of those who made the position of Śaivism unassailable on philosophic grounds.

Sivaleṅka Mañcana was also an Āndhra Brāhmaṇ. Like Padmarasu, he took part in many wordy battles, and defeated Jains in arguments. He went to Banaras, and in discussions established the supremacy of Śiva. He returned to Kalyāṇi, and met Basavēśvara who honoured him. There are many works in Kannada about him, and his religious exploits. His family exists even to-day.

The last of this galaxy is Mallikārjuna Pañdita. He was a native of Dākṣārāma, a Śaivite Kṣētra on the banks of the Godāvari. Pañditārādhya caritam mentions his life and work. He is said to have written a number of works, but only two of them are extant.⁵⁴ It is said that he was going to Kalyāṇi to meet Basava, but on his way heard that Basava died. It is undeniable that the services of the above six pandits conduced very much to the survival and spread of Saivism to some extent.

MUṬṭS IN ĀNDHRA DĒŚA

Out of the five muṭṭs already mentioned, the first was established at Kolanupāka, and subsequently transferred to Bālehnur (Mysore State).⁵⁵ Rēṇukācārya was born at Kolanupāka in Nalgonda district of the Hyderabad State. This village is inhabited even to-day by a large number of Vīraśaivas, though some remains of Jainism are also found.⁵⁶

One strange coincidence is noteworthy . The name Sōmanātha is very common in Āndhra Dēśa. There are a number of shrines by this name, and many Śaivas and others also wear this name.

52. Introduction to Basavapurānam. p. 63.

53. InIntroduction to Pañditārādhya Caritam. Dr. C. Narayana Rao pp. 30-33.

54. Śivatatvasāram; Śrimukhadarśanagadyam.

55. Other names of Balehonur are: "Kadalipura; Rambhāpura".

56. "तथारेवणसिद्धस्यकुल्यपाकं पुरोत्तमे।

सोमलिंगात्तुजननं आवासः कदलीपुरे" Svāyambhuvāgama.

"अथत्रिलिंगविषयेकुल्यपाकाभिधेषुरे।

सोमेश्वरमहालिंगात्प्रादुरासीत्सरेणुकः" Siddhāntasikhāmaṇi.

Rēnukācārya, and Pālakuriki Sōmanātha and many other Śaivas are said to have been born by the grace of God Sōmanātha. The fame of Sōmanātha in the North as one of the most famous shrines, perhaps spread to the south, and may be the reason for this popularity.

Śrīśailam, as I have already said, is in Kurnool district, a part of Andhra country. The whole population around, are Andhras and a large number of Andhra pilgrims gather there for Śivarātri every year.

The existence of two important muṭṭis one of which was established by the great Rēnukācārya, accounts to a large extent for the popularity of Śaivism in Andhra country. Even Bellary district forms a part of Andhra Dēśa. In fact it is one of the districts of Rāyalaseema, which the Andhras want to be included in the Andhra Province to be created. The existence of two important Muṭṭis, many Sōmanāth shrines, and a number of paṇḍits expounding Śaivism, are proofs that at one time Śaivism was widespread in Andhra Country.

In reading the life of Rēnukā, we come across with a remarkable incident. It is stated therein that Śankarācārya after the composition of Sūtrabhāṣya, became a devotee, and was in search of a proper guru. He met Rēnukācārya and requested his grace, Rēnukā finding a proper recipient, awarded him Dikṣā along with a Chandramouliśvara Liṅga. This incident has been recorded in many old works I will state a few.⁵⁷

- (i) “Śāṅkarācārya gave to his disciple the Chandramouliśvara Liṅga awarded to him by Rēnuka along with a Ganapati idol and ordered him to worship them.”⁵⁸
- (ii) “शकराचार्यसत्तामयोगीद्राय महोज्ज्वल ।
चद्रमौलीश्वरलिंग दत्तवान्तिष्ठुत ।
श्री रेणुकगणेशाल्यरेवणसिद्धदेविकः”⁵⁹
- (iii) “ततस्सरेवणसिद्ध सप्रदायप्रवर्तिना ।
शकराचार्यवर्याणापारपर्यन्तमागत
रेवणासिद्धसप्राप्त चद्रमौगीशमप्यदात्”⁶⁰

A few sentences from the learned introduction to the above book, of Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastry are worth quoting. While mentioning about the Rēvana-siddha Sampradāya which the Acāryas

57 Rēnukavijayam (Telugu) S. Suryanarayana Sastrī p. 90

58 Guruvamsakāvya —Vani Vilas Press—Srirangam Sarga 3

59 Vēdānta Sara Viraśaivacintāmani Nanjanācārya

Rēnuka according to Śaiva tradition was in incarnation of Ganēsa

60 Śivatatvaratnākara Kelādi Basava p. 105

of Śaṅkara line followed, he says, "The Liṅga of Chandramouliśvara which is still worshipped....in the Śringēri Muṭṭ is also said to have been presented to Vidyāraṇya by this direct Guru....Rēvaṇasiddha (Rēṇukā) we know, is a well known Śaiva teacher whom the Liṅgāyats still claim as one of the earliest Ācāryas. The Kēladi chiefs, who were mostly followers of the Liṅgāyat creed, were devoted adherents of Śringēri-Śaṅkarācārya Muṭṭ; perhaps also for this same reason viz. that the Śaṅkarācāryas were the followers of Rēvaṇasiddha sampradāya." It is also interesting to observe that, "In Śringēri there is greater bias towards Śiva and Śaivism....though the founder of the great Śaṅcarācārya Muṭṭ was no respector of creeds, nor made any distinction between Śiva and Viṣṇu"

There are also other places where this incident is mentioned. Bālehnur and Śringēri are at a distance of nearly 15 miles apart in Mysore State. Chandramouliśvara is worshipped in Śringēri Muṭṭ even to-day. There is a statue of Śaṅkara preserved in Rēṇukā Muṭṭ. This strange coincidence has to be further examined. But it is a fact that all Śaṅkara's devotional stotras, belong to the later period of his life after he wrote the Sūtrabhāṣya.

One fact emerges from this. In Āndhra Dēśa the largest population are followers of Śaṅkara's Advaita. That they have a partiality towards God Śiva is undeniable. The actual Śaivas therefore, who consider Śiva as the Supreme Lord, have no cause to come into conflict with the Advaitins. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the absence of religious rivalry and persecution on a large scale in the Āndhra Dēśa by Śaivas or of Śaivas.

LINGĀYATS AND JAṄGAMS

Vīraśaivas are called Liṅgāyats in Karṇātaka and Jaṅgams in Telugu country, and both the sects have no caste distinction. As already submitted there were Vīraśaivas among Brāhmaṇas, who worshipped Śiva as the only supreme deity, and wore Lingams in their necks. Some Jaṅgams wear them to their shoulders, some to their wrists, some to their waists, and still others in the neck by a thread. Generally these Lingams are inserted in caskets, which are of some metal, gold, silver, etc. according to the status of the wearer. The word Jaṅgam comes from the word Jaṅgama, which is used by Vīraśaiva Āgamas, in the sense of "Moving Liṅgas". Śiva has two forms, one of "Liṅga" and the other of "Moving Vīraśaivas". Therefore, all Vīraśaivas are considered the forms of Śiva, and are called

Jangams^{60a} Jangams in Andhra country follow many occupations Some are traders, some are artisans (weavers, carpenters, tailors etc.) while some others are mendicants Some of them are Areakas in Śiva temples Viśvabrahmanas are also a class of Viraśaivas They are generally smiths Brāhmaṇi Viraśaivas have disciples, whom they visit now and then and get presents In the village economy, these Viraśaivas have been absorbed in important and necessary village occupations This is a peculiar feature of the village in the Andhra country, which perhaps is the background for happy and cordial relations which subsist till to-day

III

PALKURIKI SÖMANĀTHA

Within a century from the middle of the 12th, the Viraśaiva cult expanded greatly in the home province of Basava In spreading towards the east it was slightly tardy, until a few decades later, when Sömanātha the greatest exponent of Virasaivism in Telugu country arose, and spread it in Andhra Dēśa The present extent of Virasaivism here, owes its spread to him Therefore, it is pertinent here to treat him in some detail

Though there is some difference of opinion about his date of birth, it is not wrong to state that he lived in the first half of the thirteenth century⁶¹ His birth-place is also a matter of controversy, but it may be said to have been fairly settled by now, that it is Pälakuriki in the Hyderabad State, a few miles from Ghanapur station on Central Railway between Hyderabad and Warangal There are many indications to prove this⁶² He was named after the presiding Deity of the village A statue of Sömanātha is shown with half effaced letters "SO NA" indicating his name The village is inhabited by Śaivas It is a curious coincidence that the first Ācārya Rānuka and the greatest Andhra exponent of Viraśaiva should belong to the same part of the country His childhood and the various signs that he showed of future greatness, need not tarry us long Suffice it to say, that he was born of a Brāhmaṇi family, showed precocity even when young, and a partiality for God Śiva As he grew older, his devotion towards Śiva increased gradually, and he was initiated into Dikṣā His austerities gave him the capacity to compose works of which there is a large variety Finally

60a Siddhantasikhamani Pariccheda 11

61 Andhrakavi Tarangini Vol III pp 143 144 Basavapuranaṁ Introduction p 6

62 Ibid pp 17-20

he gave up caste, and became a Jaṅgam. The most important of his works are (i) Basavapurāṇam (ii) Pañditārādhya-caritam.

The former treats about the life and teachings of Basavēśvara, and the latter about the life and doings of one of the greatest Śaiva scholars and devotees. Both the works are written in Dvipada metre, and the language employed is what is called “Jānu-Tenugu”, easy flowing Telugu which can be easily understood by masses. These two works have become authorities on Vīraśaiva cult. Basavapurāṇam is said to have been translated into Kannada and Tamil.⁶³ In these works, Sōmanātha mentions the lives of Śiva-bhaktas including some of the 63 Nayanars of Tamil Siddhānta. His method of dealing with the subject, the manner in which it is treated, the easy metre employed, and the Jānu Tenugu full of colloquial and popular words and expressions, have served more than anything else, to propagate the religion in Āndhra Dēśa. A vast literature grew round him both in Kannada and Telugu, and he is revered by the Vīraśaivas as an Avatār. Many of his Telugu works have an impress of a popular character. He wrote some Sanskrit works also, of which Basavarājīyam (Sōmanāthabhāṣya) is the most important. These Sanskrit works cater to the more learned among Śaivas. They disclose his power of argument and expression, his captivating style, and his vast knowledge and erudition. He wrote many penygerics on Basavēśvara.⁶⁴ Some of his Stōtras are repeated daily by many Vīraśaivas. In the history of that religion, his name stands second only, to that of Basavēśvara. His name is a house-hold word among Vīraśaivas. He may be called an institution.

ŚAIVA KINGDOMS

We have seen that Royal patronage conduced to the spread of a religion. Vīraśaiva received such patronage at that time. Kākati-pōla, the founder of Kākatiya Empire of Warangal was an elder contemporary of Bijjala. The Kākatiya family was Śaiva by religious persuasion, and during their reign Śaivism was exalted as the State Religion. All the Emperors were staunch Śaivas. We have already noticed that Kākatiya Gaṇapati-Rudra was a disciple of Īśānaśivaguru. Sōmanātha himself might be a contemporary of Pratāpa-Rudra I towards the end of 12th century, and is said to

63. Andhrakavi Taraṅgiṇī Vol. III, p. 108.

64. “यस्त्रिंशतिनिधि, यमाहुरभवं, येनाचितंसूनृतं, यस्मस्वस्ति, यतस्तदीयमुद्भूद्वीरशैवव्रतं । यस्यापांगसहोदरीचक्रणा यस्मिन्महत्वादिकं, सत्वं त्रीणि जगंति पाहिबसवामात्येशचूडामणी ॥”
(Basavōdaharaṇam).

have visited Warangal. An incident which occurred at that time is recorded in his works. Sanskrit poets like Vidyānātha, the author of *Pratāparudrayasobhūṣanam*, flourished in that court, who contributed as much for spread of Śaivism as for the spread of culture. A contemporary work called "Kṛidābhīramam" of doubtful authorship, vividly describes the Śaiva processions in the streets of Warangal on festive occasions. The attendance in those processions was more of non Brāhmīns. This would give us the impression that Śaivism of that time was that of Viraśaiva variety, and that it was very popular among masses. Though there were religious debates, and consequent conversions, we do not find much, which can be called active religious persecution. This Empire was also called Trilinga empire, as three Śaiva shrines stood as its three corner stones. They are, in the east Dāksarāma on the banks of the lower Gōdāvari, in the west Kālēsvaram on the upper Gōdāvari in the Hyderabad State, and Śrīśailam in the South. The whole period till the disruption of the empire in the first half of the fourteenth century, is a glorious period in the history of Śaivism.

This tradition was continued by the early Vijayanagar emperors on one hand, and the Reddy kings of Addanki, Kondavidu and Rājamandry on the other.⁶⁵ Many inscriptions speak of gifts by Reddy kings to Śaiva Pandits and Gurus. Many of them are Arādhyaś (Śivadvijas). This is an indication that at that time there were both Brāhmīns and non-Brahmīns who are Virasaivas, and that there was neither great rivalry nor enmity among them. Great poets like Śrinātha were associated with the spread of Śaivism.⁶⁶

The early dynasties of Vijayanagar, Sangama and Saluva were followers of Śiva. The Śaiva tradition was handed down to them by Vidyaranya, who after Śankara is the greatest figure in the religious firmament of South India. Along with Śaivism we have seen that he handed down Chandramouliśvara also. He established two more Muṭṭs, Virūpakṣa and Puṣpagiri, under whose religious jurisdiction the whole of Andhra country was. These Muṭṭs with partiality for Śiva encouraged Śaivism. In this manner, Samānya Śaivism and Viraśaivism spread in the Andhra Dēsa side by side complementary to each other. This accounts for the peaceful relations, unlike as in Karṇāṭaka and elsewhere. The Andhra Śaiva kingdoms contributed to the growth of both the varieties of Śaivism. This brings us to the end of fourteenth century. So far, none of the previous ruling dynasties appear to have used the

⁶⁵ Reddy Kings ruled for nearly a hundred years between A.D 1350 and 1450

⁶⁶ There is a school of thought called Acālasiddhānta the propagators of which Vemana Virabrahmam and others are Virasaivas

sword, for the spread of Śaivism, nor do they appear to have shown hatred of the other cults. Besides, we find them endowing with gifts the shrines of other religions as well.

During these centuries, the influence of Islam began to gradually increase. Because Islam is no respector of other religions, the respective conditions of these cults remained almost the same.

SAIVA SHRINES IN ĀNDHRA

As compared with the Viṣṇu shrines, the number of Saiva shrines appear to be larger in Āndhra Dēśa. Along with Śriśailam and Dāksārām, Kālahasti one of the five elemental Lingas of Śiva (the Vāyu Liṅga) is situated in Chittor District of Āndhra Dēśa. Poet Dhūrjati composed a centum of verses with the makuta "Srikālahastīśvarā". Perhaps it is not far wrong to say, that the conditions of Śaivism in Āndhra are now the same as those obtained at that time. There is a general saying among Telugu people, that one should not live in a place, where there is no Śiva temple. Śivarātri is observed most solemnly throughout the Āndhra Dēśa by all castes. Along with Śiva, his consort Śakti in her manifold manifestations, is worshipped by all classes of people in every village. Śiva and Śakti cults presuppose each other, and all worshippers of Śakti are Śaivas as well, and the converse is also true.

CONCLUSION

As I have already said there is no marked change in the circumstances then and now. If a census is taken, Śaivas of all varieties form the largest mass, and the most numerous in Āndhra Dēśa. But the fanaticism which is seen elsewhere, is largely absent here. Viraśaivism has ceased to be a militant converting religion centuries ago, and therefore the Śaiva sects have become static. Viraśaivas among Brāhmaṇas go by the name of Ārādhyas and non-Brāhmaṇas by the name of Jaṅgams. The latter are also called "Liṅgabalijs". Balija is an appellation for Śūdras and those who are Śaives among them and wear Liṅgas are called by that name.

Now there is vast literature about this cult in the shape of Kāvyas, Śatakas, lives of Bhaktas, rituals of the cult, and its philosophy. They include a number of translations of Sanskrit, Purānic, and other works.⁶⁷ But material to trace the history of the cult

67. "Viraśaivavañjmayam" N. Venkat Rao. Bhārati, Silver Jubilee edition. p. 9. Among the later writers on Śaivism the most illustrious is Appayyadikīta, whose works are ornaments to any literature and Philosophy. Though Sri-kāntha and Srikara wrote much, the word on Śaivādvaita must be considered to have been said by this learned philosopher poet.

KASHMIR ŠAIVISM

By

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There is a form of Šaivism popularly known as Kashmir Šaivism which is a kind of monism or non-dualism. The names by which the system is known are Trika, Spanda and Pratyabhijñā¹. The name *Trika* primarily refers to the triple principle with which the system deals, viz. Šiva-sakti-anu or pati-pāsa-pasu. Though the other schools of Šaivism also accept these three categories, Kashmir Šaivism regards the individual soul and the world as essentially identical with Šiva, and so the three, according to it, are reducible to one. The term *Spanda* indicates the principle of apparent movement or change from the state of absolute unity to the plurality of the world. And the expression *Pratyabhijñā* which means 'recognition' refers to the way of realizing the soul's identity with Šiva.

The beginnings of Kashmir Šaivism are to be traced to the Šiva-sūtras whose authorship is attributed to Šiva himself. The Sūtras are said to have been revealed to a sage by name Vasugupta who must have lived towards the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The date of Vasugupta is settled on the authority of Kalhana's *Rājatarangini* which says that Bhaṭṭa Kallata, a pupil of Vasugupta, was a contemporary of Avantivarman who was king of Kashmir in 855-883 A.D. There are different traditions about the way in which the Sūtras were revealed to Vasugupta. According to one of them, Vasugupta had a vision of Šiva in a dream while residing in his hermitage below the Mahādeva peak, and he was directed by the Lord to a rock in the valley on which the Sūtras had been inscribed. When the sage went there and touched the rock, it turned and showed the inscription. According to a second version, the Sūtras, although composed by Šiva, were taught to Vasugupta by a Siddha. A third version is that Vasugupta received the instruction from Šiva himself in a dream. Whatever might have been the way in which the Sūtras were revealed to Vasugupta, it is definite that these Sūtras laid the foundation of Kashmir Šaivism. A succession of talented exponents of the system followed Vasugupta. Kallaṭa who was Vasugupta's chosen pupil wrote, among other works,

1 There are other names also such as Šadardha-sastra

is his. "There is no tracing", says the 'awakened one', "the course of those monks who are men-of-worth, in whom the fluxions are destroyed, who have greatly lived, done what was to be done, shed their burden, won their own goal, completely destroyed the fetters of becoming, and are freed with profound knowledge"⁵³ The recluse can finally say: 'Lived is the Brahma-faring, done is what was to be done'⁵⁴ (*katakaranīyo*).

Spanda-Sarvasva in which he explained the meaning of the Śiva-sūtra as taught by his master Somānanda, the author of Śiva-dṛṣṭi and a vṛtti thereon, was probably another pupil of Vasugupta. Among other teachers of Kashmir Śaivism, we find the names of Utpala, Rāmakanṭha and Abhinavagupta. The last named was a prolific writer on a variety of subjects. The period of his literary activity extended over a quarter of a century, from about 991 to 1015 A.D. His best known work on Kashmir Śaivism is the Paramārtha-sāra which is an adaptation of an earlier Advaita work of the same name by Ādi Śeṣa.

The ultimate Reality, in Kashmir Śaivism, as in every school of Śaiva philosophy, is Śambhu or Śiva, the supreme God. Śiva is the Atman, the self of all beings, Immutable and ever perfect. He is pure consciousness (caitanya), absolute experience (Para sāmvit), supreme lord (paramēśvara). He is the ground of all existence, the substrate of all beings. He is beginningless and one, he resides in all that moves and all that moves not. Time and space do not limit him, for he transcends them, and they are but his appearances. He is both immanent (viśvamaya) and transcendent (viśvottirpa). The world does not exhaust him, for he is infinite. He is called anuttara, the reality beyond which there is nothing. In the familiar strain of the Upaniṣads, the teachers of Kashmir Śaivism tell us that the ultimate Reality is beyond the reach of thought and language. Yet both mind and speech attempt to understand and express the Real in its relation to the universe.

The pure consciousness, which is the supreme Reality and is referred to as Śiva, is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe. This view is much the same as the one sponsored by Advaita-Vedānta as regards Saguna-Brahman. God or Reality is the stuff of which the world is made as well as the instrument which makes it. Fundamentally there is no difference between the cause and the effect. But while for Advaita the manifested world is non-real, for Kashmir Śaivism it is real.

By means of several illustrations the writers on the Pratyabhijñā system explain the creation of the universe from and by Śiva. The world is very often compared to the reflected city in a mirror. "As in the orb of a mirror pictures such as those of a town or village shine which are inseparable from it, and yet are distinct from one another and from it, so from the perfectly pure vision of the supreme Bhairava, this universe, though void of distinction appears distinct part from part and distinct from that vision"². And again, "As

² Abhinavagupta's Paramārtha-sāra vv 12-13, see JRAS, 1910, p 723.

syrup, molasses, jaggery, sugar-balls, candy, etc., are all alike juice of the sugar-cane, so the diverse conditions are all of Śambhu, the Supreme Self".³ The illustration of the rope appearing as the snake is also employed, though not with the same implication as in Advaita-Vedānta. Another familiar analogy used to explain creation is the appearance of ideas in the mind. The creation-theory of the Pratyabhijñā school is known as *ābhāsavāda*, i.e. the view which holds that the universe consists of appearances which are all real in the sense that they are aspects of the ultimate Reality.

The manifestation of the universe is effected through the Power (śakti) of Śiva. And Power is not different from the Possessor thereof. Śakti is Śiva's creative energy, and is spoken of as his feminine aspect. There are innumerable modes of Śakti. But the most important of them are five. They are: (1) *cit-śakti*, the power of intelligence or self-luminosity, which means that the Supreme shines by itself without dependence on any other light and even in the absence of all objects; (2) *ānanda-śakti*, the power of independence (*svātantrya*) which is bliss or joy, and by virtue of which the ultimate Reality is self-satisfied; (3) *icchā-śakti*, the power of will or desire, the wonderful power of the Lord to create; (4) *jñāna-śakti*, the power of knowledge by virtue of which the objects are brought together and held together in consciousness; and (5) *kriyā-śakti*, the power of action which is responsible for the actual manifestation of objects and their relations. By these powers the supreme Śiva in his aspect as Śakti manifests himself as the universe. He manifests himself by his own free will (*svecchayā*) and in himself as the substrate (*svabhittau*). That is, there is nothing other than Śiva. If the universe appears as if different, such appearance is a delusion. With the opening out of Śakti, the universe appears; and when Śakti closes herself up, the universe disappears. Sṛṣti (creation) and pralaya (dissolution) alternate; and this process is without a beginning.

As in the other schools of Saivism, thirty-six categories or tattvas are recognised in Kashmir Śaivism.

(1) The tattva which is counted as the thirty-sixth but which is first in the logical order is Śiva, the ultimate Reality, as it holds the potentiality of creation. It is of this reality, as we said, that the universe is an appearance. The Śiva-tattva is the first stage in the process of world-manifestation. Of the five aspects of Śakti, cit or intelligence predominates over the others at this stage. (2) The next category or tattva is śakti. It is not proper to call it the second stage, for it is by virtue of its operation that the manifestation of the Śiva-tattva is made possible. When Śakti is counted separately,

3. Ibid, p. 728.

what is meant in reality is the manifestation of its ānanda aspect—the aspect of bliss and self-satisfaction which is the precursor of the manifestation of a variety of forms (3) The third category is called *Sadāśiva* or the *Sādākhya-tattva*, the principle “from which or in which the experience of Being begins” At this stage, *iechā-sakti* or the power of desire or will is the dominant feature And it is so because desire has to precede actual movement or activity (4) *Īsvara-tattva* is the fourth category in which the power of knowledge (*jñāna-sakti*) is predominant If at the stage of the *Sādākhya-tattva* the experience of the divine Experiencer may be stated in the form ‘I am this’ with the emphasis on *I*, the experience at the stage of the *Īsvara-tattva* may be expressed in the form ‘This am I’ with the stress on *this* That is, the objective universe gains prominence here, and thereby the lordliness of the divine Being is realised (5) In the *Sad-vidyā-tattva* which is the next stage, the two sides of the experience, the subjective and the objective, the ‘*I*’ and the ‘*this*’ get equalised The experience is of the form ‘I am this’ Here neither is thrown into the background, the two have equal importance In such an experience there is activity and movement of thought The power of action, *kriyā-sakti*, functions as the dominating influence

The five categories from *Śiva-tattva* to *Sad-vidyā-tattva* constitute what is called the pure (*śuddha*) creation They are pure because they are manifested by *Śiva* himself without dependence on any prompting cause like karma, or material cause like *māyā* And also, the manifestation so far sketched is an ideal one, without any fragmentation or limitation of the One into the many Hence it is called the ‘perfect and pure way or order’ (*śuddhādhvan*) The five tattvas are the manifestation of the universal Self, and not of any individual soul So, they have for their content the whole of experience, the ‘All-this’ It is only after the stage of *Śuddha-vidyā-tattva* that finitisation or fragmentation begins to take place The experiencers of these five tattvas are said to be super-normal beings, and they are classified into five groups in accordance with the tattva that is predominant in each The names of these groups are *Śāmbhava*, *Śaktija*, *Mantra-maheśvara*, *Mantreśvara*, and *Mantra*

The remaining tattvas form the impure (*aśuddha*) order of creation Their manifestation constitutes the sphere of the experience of limited beings which does not cover the universal ‘All-this’, but relates only to particular aspects thereof The course of manifestation after the *Śuddha-vidyā-tattva* is called the imperfect or impure way (*aśuddhādhvan*) It is also known as the *Māyādhvan* or *Māyā’s* way, from the fact that *Māyā* is the first member of this order

(6) *Māyā* is the power of obscuration. Its purpose is to limit the Experience as regards both the Experiencer and what is experienced. The Universal Self becomes obscured as it were, and, as a result of this, a plurality of souls and things becomes possible. The stage of *Māyā* is comparable to the state of lapsing into sleep. The universal Self whose powers were unrestricted upto the stage of the *Śuddha-vidyā-tattva* falls into sleep as it were; and fetters are forged to bind it apparently and finitise it. The limitless powers and features of the universal Self which are manifest in the course of the pure creation are, eternality (*nityatva*), all-pervasiveness (*vyāpakatva*), completeness (*pūrṇatva*), omniscience (*sarvajñatva*) and omnipotence (*sarvakartṛtva*). These get limited by the power of *Māyā*; and we now have in their place: (7) *Kāla* or time (limited duration), (8) *Niyati* or restriction in regard to space, (9) *Rāga* or attachment to particular things, (10) *Vidyā* or limited knowledge and (11) *Kalā* or limited agency. These five categories, *Kāla*, *Niyati*, *Rāga*, *Vidyā* and *Kalā*, are called the five sheaths (*pañca-kañcuka*) which envelop the soul and thus make for its finitude.

(12) The soul which is thus enveloped in the *kañcukas* is the *Puruṣa*. The universal Self appears under limitation as the many individual souls. Not only is the nature of the Real veiled, but also an apparent plurality of souls is projected by *Māyā*. The one All-Experiencer becomes differentiated, as it were, into the innumerable finite centres of experience. It is these centres which are the *Puruṣas* that are born and die, are bound and released. Each of these *Puruṣas* is called an *Aṇu*, because when the non-spatial Self is limited, the limited form has to be conceived as atomic in nature, i.e. as a non-spatial point.

(13) Corresponding to the limitation of the subjective side of the universal Experience, there is also a limitation of the objective side. *Māyā* apparently finitises the supreme Self as a result of which we have a plurality of *Puruṣas*. And it also provides each of the *puruṣas* with a conditioned object of experience which is *Prakṛti*. Because the stage in the evolutionary process which we are considering at present is comparable to sleep, the object is only a vague and indefinite 'something' (*vedya-sāmānyātmakam*). It has the potentiality of developing into a variety of experiencibles—pleasurable, painful and delusive objects. But at this stage the three *guṇas*, sattva, rajas, and tamas which are responsible for the variety of objective manifestations remain in a state of equilibrium. It is these *guṇas* that constitute *Prakṛti*; they are like the three strands of a cord, binding the *Puruṣa*. Since there is a plurality of *Puruṣas*, there is an equal number of *Prakṛtis* (tac ca prati-pum-niyatatvāt anekam).

The next three categories are (14) Buddhi or intellect, (15) Ahankāra or individuation, and (16) Manas or mind (14) The Buddhi-tattva comes into manifestation from Prakrti, as the Experieneer wakes up, as it were, after a sleep In the state of Prakrti there is an equalisation of the gunas, as we saw, but this does not last for ever The Lord of the tattvas, viz the Experieneer, creates a disturbance (ksobha) in Prakrti, so that he may enjoy the finite objects And Buddhi is what emerges at first out of this disturbance It is to be compared to the first stage in the waking consciousness after a sleep There is here a mere awareness without specification Though all the three constituents of Prakrti are present in Buddhi, the predominant guna in it is sattva (15) From Buddhi arises Ahankāra which is individuation or egoity It represents the feeling of oneself as 'I am so and so'—the feeling as a particular person The self identifies itself with Buddhi, and consequently attributes to itself the function of the Buddhi This is Ahankāra The guna that prominently characterises it is rajas (16) From Ahankara Manas is produced The function of Manas or mind is to act as the medium between Ahankāra and the sense-manifold It actively collects the sense-data and presents them to the higher functionary Though Manas is a state of activity, it is blind by itself and is the seat of desires And so, the guna that is dominant in it is tamas

Besides Manas, Ahankāra produces the five organs of sense (jñānendriyas), the five organs of action (karmendriyas), and the five essences called tanmātras from which evolve the gross elements The five organs of sense are (17) the sense of hearing, (18) the sense of touch, (19) the sense of sight, (20) the sense of taste, and (21) the sense of smell These five are the channels of perception, and are the products of that variety of Ahankāra in which sattva is predominant—the variety which is called Tatjasa The five organs of action are (22) the organ of speech, (23) the organ of grasping, (24) the organ of locomotion, (25) the organ of excretion, and (26) the organ of reproduction These organs, as their collective name denotes, are the instruments of action, and they are the products of the Vaikrta-Ahankāra, viz the Ahankāra in which rajas is the dominant guna The five Tanmātras are evolved out of the variety of Ahankāra in which tamas predominates, and which is called Bhūtādi The Tanmātras are (27) sound, (28) touch, (29) colour, (30) taste, and (31) odour These should not be confused with the particular sounds, etc which we experience They are the subtle essences from which are evolved the gross elements

The gross elements are the remaining categories They are five in number, and are the products respectively of sound, touch, colour,

taste, and odour. The five gross elements (Bhūtas) are: (32) ether, (33) air, (34) fire, (35) water, and (36) earth. These are the ingredients of what we call the physical world. They constitute the abodes of enjoyment and the objects of experience for the individual souls.

The individual soul, though identical with the supreme Śiva, suffers the ills of saṃsāra, because it has forgotten its essential nature. It is covered with three impurities called *malas*, and encased in the sheaths or kañcukas. The three impurities are: āṇavamala, kārmamala and māyīyamala. Āṇavamala is the innate impurity of ignorance, and is the root cause of bondage. It is beginningless, though it can be destroyed. And final release consists in the destruction of āṇava. Kārmamala is the result of āṇava. It is responsible for the association of the individual soul with the effects of Māyā. Māyīyamala which is caused by kārmamala is the impurity of transmigratory existence. Endowed with these three malas, the soul migrates from one state of existence to another, putting on the cloaks created by Māyā.

The supreme aim of the Pratyabhijñā system is to enable the individual soul to find its salvation. The salvation consists in the soul's recognition of its identity with the ultimate Reality. As bondage is the result of ignorance, release is to be attained through knowledge. The knowledge which liberates, however, is not mere intellectual awareness; it is spiritual intuition of the fundamental unity. The intuition is gained by *dīkṣā*, which is the name for the act whereby spiritual knowledge is imparted and the bondage of innate ignorance is removed. The intellectual knowledge of the Pratyabhijñā system is also necessary, because without it *dīkṣā* will not be efficacious.

The way to liberation (*mokṣa*) is exactly the reverse of the way of manifestation (ābhāsa). The individual soul which is subject to birth and death, being endowed with the three malas is called *sakala*. At the time of dissolution or *pralaya*, the soul is not associated with the effects of Māyā, viz. body, etc., and so it is free from the Māyīyamala, and is called *pralayākala*. When, by the adoption of the Śaivapath, the soul has made some advance on the road of liberation, the kārma-mala too gets dissolved; and the soul in that stage is called *Vijñānākala*. It is, in fact, a transitional stage from the impure to pure creation. Āṇava alone lingers; and it too is destroyed by stages. Four such stages are recognised by the Śaivas, before the final annihilation of āṇava is accomplished. The soul passes through the five tattvas of the pure creation in the reverse order, before it gains the knowledge of its identity with Parama Śiva. The names

of the soul in these stages, as we have given already, are Mantra, Mātreśa, Mantra-maheśa, Śaktija, and Śāmbhava

There are four ways, or rather steps, to liberation ānava, sākta, Śāmbhava, and anupāya Each preceding stage leads to the next in order The ānavopāya is otherwise known as kriyopāya It is the path in which external aids like repetition of mantras are used as means to self-realisation At the next stage which is called sākta pāya or jñānopāya, the aspirant makes repeated attempts to rise from a dualistic outlook to the knowledge of unity At the third stage which is known as the Śāmbhava-mārga or icchopāya the knowledge of the Ultimate Reality arises through mere exercise of the will power The anupāya-mārga or ānandopāya is the last stage in the journey Here there is no need even for bhāvanā The ultimate Reality is realised through pratyabhijñā or recognition, and the soul is completely liberated

This is how the process of recognition is illustrated and explained "A certain damsel, hearing of the many good qualities of a particular gallant, fell in love with him before she had seen him, and agitated by her passion and unable to suffer the pain of not seeing him, wrote to him a love-letter descriptive of her condition He at once came to her, but when she saw him she did not recognise in him the qualities she had heard about, he appeared much the same as any other man, and she found no gratification in his society So soon, however, as she recognised those qualities in him as her companions now pointed them out, she was fully gratified In like manner, though the personal self be manifested as identical with the universal soul, its manifestation effects no complete satisfaction so long as there is no recognition of those attributes, but as soon as it is taught by a spiritual director to recognise in itself the perfections of Maheśvara, his omniscience, omnipotence, and other attributes, it attains the whole pleroma of being"⁴

Mere human effort will not be of much avail in the path of Mokṣa What really moves here is the Divine Will Besides the three powers of creation, sustentation, and destruction of the universe, God has the powers of concealment and grace His real nature is concealed from the soul, and after the soul has played out its part in saṃsāra, God's grace descends on the individual, and the individual is released The descent of Divine Grace is called Śakti-nipāta

Mokṣa, according to the Pratyabhijñā system, is a return to the original state of perfection and purity of consciousness Abhinavagupta describes it thus "When thus the imagination of quality has vanished, and he (the released soul) has surmounted the illusion

⁴ See The *Sarva-darsana-samgraha* of Madhavacarya translated by E B Cowell and A E Gough p 136

Māyā, he is merged in Brahman, as water in water, as milk in milk. When thus through contemplation the group of elements has been resolved into the substances of Śiva, what grief, what delusion can befall him who surveys the universe as Brahman?"⁵

Of all the schools of Śaivism, the Pratyabhijñā system comes closest to Advaita-Vedānta. As in Advaita, so in Kashmir Śaivism the ultimate reality is non-dual and of the nature of pure consciousness. The three Śaiva categories, pati, paśu and pāsa, are reduced to the one absolute reality which is Para-Śiva, and apart from which there is nothing real. The so-called jīva is non-different from the supreme reality; and its final goal is the recognition of this truth. Mokṣa is the soul's return to its original purity through realising its identity with the Absolute. The universe too is not different from Śiva. It is an appearance (ābhāsa) comparable to the reflected city in a mirror or the illusory snake in the rope. Śiva is both the material and the instrumental cause of the world. Māyā is the principle of illusion which obscures the real and projects the non-real. Since the appearance of the pluralistic universe including *jīvatva* is due to ignorance, it is to be removed through jñāna or knowledge.

So far, it will be easily seen, there is nothing to distinguish the Pratyabhijñā system from Advaita-Vedānta. But when it introduces certain additions or modifications, obviously to justify its character as a school of Śaivism, it becomes inconsistent with itself. (1) The manifested world of things is, according to Kashmir Śaivism, real. But how could this be? How could the Pure Consciousness be the material cause of the non-intelligent world? If it is said to be the material cause, it must be only in the sense that it is the substrate of an illusory appearance. The analogies used by the Pratyabhijñā writers themselves go to show that the so-called creation is *vivarta* and not *parināma*. (2) In a realistic system the scheme of thirty-six categories to which Kashmir Śaivism adheres may have some meaning, but not in a system of Monistic Idealism which this school of Śaivism claims to be. Since Māyā serves, even according to the Pratyabhijñā, the double purpose of obscuring the non-dual reality and projecting the pluralistic universe, it is unnecessary and cumbersome to distinguish stages of creation anterior to Māyā. Beginning with Māyā, the scheme is more or less the same as that of the Sāṅkhya system. The Advaitin has no objection to the general outline of the Sāṅkhya scheme *minus its parināma-vāda*. In so far as Kashmir Śaivism stops short of full-fledged Advaita, it fails to be philosophically satisfactory. And this failure is due to the legacy which it has received from the realistic schools—a legacy which is in the nature of a *haereditas damnosa*.

5. *The Paramārthasāra*, vv. 51-52; JRAS, 1910, p. 734.

There are some traces of Buddhism in Bengal even in inscriptions later than the age of the Pālas and there is a Buddhist population in the Chittagong area on the south-eastern fringe of Bengal even today. But Buddhism does not appear to have played any important part in the religious life of Bengal after the decline of the Buddhist royal family of the Pālas in the twelfth century A.D. The antipathy of the Sena rulers of Bengal, who succeeded the Pālas, may have supplied an additional force to the elements that led to the withering of Buddhism in the country.

SOMA AND RUDRA IN VEDIC MYTHOLOGY

By

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Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras 20.

India can boast of twelve great *linga* temples¹ which have, for centuries, commanded an especial veneration from the devotees of Śiva. Perhaps the most famous of these is the shrine of Somanātha, situated in Prabhāsa Pāṭan on the southern coast of Saurashtra, whose wealth and splendour attracted the avaricious eyes of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni who on January 8, 1026, destroyed the idols of the temple and looted its rarest treasures.² The shrine is named after the moon-god Soma who, under a curse, is believed to have set up the *linga* and worshipped it with devotion. The story goes that, though the moon-god had married all the twenty-seven daughters of Dakṣa, he had a special fascination for Rohinī to the great chagrin of her sisters. Dakṣa advised his son-in-law to treat all the wives equally; but, advice proving of no avail, the son-in-law was cursed whereby he contracted phthisis. In vain the moon-god appears to have made manifold attempts to get over the effects of the curse. As he, defeated in his attempts, continue to wane, herbs became either tasteless or failed to grow altogether. The high gods had to intervene in the matter, and a compromise was arranged between the disputants. Soma had to promise equal devotion towards all his wives and regard for womankind in general and brahmins. He could get rid of the disease already on him if he bathed in the *Prabhāsatīrtha*, the spot at which the Sarasvatī mingles with the ocean, and worshipped Lord Mahādeva there. The moon-god obeyed and regained his form and beauty.³

This is the story in the Epics. My attempt now is to discuss what sort of relationship existed already between the gods Soma and Śiva in the Vedic period. It may be noted at the very outset that Soma is one of the most important deities in the Rgveda. The name occurs hundreds of times and at least 120 whole hymns are devoted to the praise of this divinity. It is indeed true that the allusion in most of these occurrences is either to the concrete plant of

1. For a list see Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 322 n.

2. K. M. Munshi, *Somnath the Shrine Eternal*, Bombay, 1951, p. 26.

3. *Mahābhārata* (Nirnayasagara Press Edition), IX. 36.

that name or to the exhilarating essence extracted from it, but it has to be admitted⁴ that there are certain passages in this Veda which would give an absurd meaning if the word Soma occurring in them is taken in either of these senses. Chief among such are those⁵ which describe the wedding of Soma with Sūryā, the daughter of the Sun. Such a connection between Soma and Sūryā becomes understandable only if the god is the Moon who, as a luminary even like the Sun, can reasonably be regarded as his son-in-law. Elsewhere⁶ Soma is described as the drop (*drapsa*) which goes to the ocean, looking with the eye of a vulture, and even here the reference must be only to the Moon. One passage in the Atharvaveda, however, declares in clear terms the identity of Soma with the Moon. It runs "May the god Soma free me, he whom they call the Moon" (*Somo mā devo muñcatu yam āhus candraṁ iti*)⁷. Occasions are indeed numerous⁸ when the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* asserts this identity, and in two contexts⁹ we meet also with the Epic idea of Soma being closely connected with the brahmans. Soma is here called the King of the brahmans (*Somo 'asmāl am brahmaṇā-nām rūjā*).

Among the associates of the god Soma in the Veda are Agni, Indra, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Rudra, Surya and Varuṇa. Of these Rudra is the precursor of the Purānic Śiva and as such his relationship with Soma is the subject of our study in this paper. But the Vedic Rudra is often identified with Agni, and the identity appears to have so influenced the character of the god that he is equipped considerably to play the important role of Śiva-Mahādeva in later history. It is to this influence apparently that Śiva owes his complexion, his blue neck and his matted hair. It is not impossible that even the emblem of this popular god, the linga, really grew out of the sacrificial fire-pit.¹⁰ As for Soma, he receives joint praise in the Veda with Agni and Rudra each in one whole hymn. Among the feats resulting from the combined efforts of the gods Agni and Soma is the fixing up of the luminaries in the sky. Says¹¹ the seer addressing the two gods

युवमेतानि दिवि रोचना—
न्यनिरद्वं सोम सवत् अथतम् ।

4 For an elaborate discussion of the theme see H G Narahari Atrian in *Pre-Upanisadic Vedic Literature* Adyar 1944 pp 80 ff

5 RV X 85 6 RV X 123 8 7 AV XI 6 7

8 1 6 4 5 XI 1 3 2 4 and 5 etc for the full list see Muir *Original Sanskrit Texts* London 1884 V 271

9 V 3 3 12 IX 4 3 16

10 N Venkataramanayya *Rudra-Śiva* (Dr S Subrahmanyam Aiyar Lectures 1939-40 University of Madras Madras 1941), p 83

11 RV I 93 5 ab

Ample recompense (*bṛhat*)¹² awaits those who worship these two gods together. Their horses become strong and cows become fat. Themselves they become healthy and rich:¹³

अग्नीषोमा हृविषः प्रस्तितस्य वीतं हर्यतं वृषणा जुपेयाम् ।

(Vide p. 3 of original)

सुशर्माणा स्ववसा हि भूतमधां धत्तं यजमानाय शं योः ॥

अग्नीषोमा पिपूतमर्वतो न

आप्यायन्तामुस्तिया हव्यसूदः ।

When Soma and Rudra go together, they are both armed with sharp weapons and shafts (*tigmāyudhau tigmahetī*),¹⁴ and are supplicated by devotees for blessings to man and beast, for healing medicines and for deliverance from sin:¹⁵

शं नो भूतं द्विपदे शं चतुर्ष्पदे ।

सोमा रुद्रा युवमेतान्यस्मे विश्वातनूपु भेपजानि धत्तम् ।

अवस्यतं मुञ्चतं यन्नो अस्तितनूपु वद्धं कृतमेनो अस्मत् ॥

If, therefore, we read in the Epics that the *Prabhāsatīrtha*, where Soma bathes on every New-Moon day,¹⁶ has the power to make every devout pilgrim who bathes there radiant even like the full Moon (*prabhāsate yathā Somah*) or as lustrous as the glorious Sun (*vimalārkasamadyutih*),¹⁷ we are treated to no empty hyperbole. The verdict of the Epic has its firm roots in the beliefs of the oldest known period of our history.

12. RV. I. 93. 10 c.

15. RV. VI. 74. 1 and 3.

13. RV. I. 93. 7 & 12.

16. *Mahābhārata*, IX. 36. 41.

14. RV. VI. 74. 4 a.

17. *Ibid.*, III. 80. 64.

SOMANATH : THE PILLAR OF LIGHT UNIVERSE HIS SYMBOL

(By J. B. Durkāl M.A., D.O.C. Vidyā Vāridhi)

I

In unfathomed prenebular ages old
When there was neither light, nor heat nor cold
Nor earth nor suns nor water nor germs,
The Universe itself was evolving its terms.

Even prior still there was but one element
Without a second and mighty in its own portent;
It was unscaled, with life and light and joy
Yet it felt its unvaried life a tiresome toy.

"I am one" it said. "No, not said, but willed,
"May I be many and multiply"; and drilled
Its unity into variety of space and time
And substance sans substance in a wonderous pantomime.

Three great gunas emerged from parent primordial
With their godheads potent yet incorporeal:
Brahmā was the deity of world-wide expansion
And Vishnu was the deity of conserving protection.

And they began to test who the greater was:
A trial of spiritual strength and laws;
They faught and faught in wonderous action
As in science they call action and reaction.

And when there was no clue as to who would win
Which force would prevail and conquer the din,
Lo, there appeared between them, god Shiva the good,
A great pillar of light, symbol of a new mood.

This pillar of light was the emblem supreme
The light of light—the Jyotir Liṅga of our sacred theme.
The pillar of light, the deities volunteered to scale
To measure their strength by their own rod and rail.

The pervasive element went down to find the lower end
 And the expansive one upside its way did wend,
 But none could find the end of the pillar of light
 For, it was 'the light beyond light and might.'

But lo; the expansive spirit did to temptation lend
 And said he had seen the pillar's end
 The retribution came and his head was gone
 And above his boast Vishnu's veracity shone.

It was that pillar of light which stands between
 The expansive and the conservative forces daily seen.
 We seek its knowledge but never reach its end
 Both urges are great and good, but have a noisy trend.

Let us worship the Pillar of Light, but beware of lie;
 For, the Lord of Light is there ever awake and nigh.

II

There is a wonderous tale how great Eternity
 As it lay resplendent with Rishies of divine entity,
 Maya the spell-spouse of Shiva had disappeared
 And with her also the world which she had reared.

The Rishis prayed that Shiva the God of bliss
 May revoke his pensive mood to give his spell a kiss,
 So that the Cosmic child resurge into being
 And Universe of joys and jobs spring ensuing.

Then God Shiva made a condition terse,
 That they shall worship his symbol, Universe.
 They agreed and then God Shiva donned like a beam
 The Universe, the sign and symbol of his *vita Supreme*.

For, what's a better symbol of the infinite but the finite
 And of God but the Universe, of might but the right,
 Of unseen but the seen, and of His luminous light
 But our own darling Twilight?

शाश्वतशशरकोदण्डी शारणागतवत्सल ।
 श्यामलाङ्गशशरधिमान् शारदिन्दुनिभानन् ॥४॥
 पीनकण्ठे विशालाक्ष क्षुद्रहा धुरिकायुष ।
 धाराधरवपु श्रीमान् सत्यसन्ध प्रतापवान् ॥५॥
 काचमालाधर कामी कामरूप कलापवान् ।
 कैरातपतिराखेटप्रिय प्रीतिप्रद प्रभु ॥६॥
 रेणुकातनयस्वामीचित्पद्मालयो वली ।
 व्याघरस्थरो व्याधिनाशन वालशासन ॥७॥
 वामदेवसमो देव कामितायंकलप्रद ।
 सामवेदप्रियो वेदवेदो वेदविदा वर ॥८॥
 श्यक्षरात्मा श्रिलोकेशस्त्रिस्त्ररात्मा श्रिलोचन ।
 विगुणात्मा विकालज्ञस्त्रिमूर्त्यात्मा विवर्गद ॥९॥
 पावंतीनन्दन श्रीमान् पावन पापनाशन ।
 पारावारगभीरात्मा परमात्म परावर ॥१०॥
 गीतप्रियो गीतकीर्ति भास्तिकेयसहोदर ।
 दारुण्यसागरो हस्तिसद्विहपराम्रम ॥११॥
 मुरलोकस्तुमहावीरस्तुन्दरस्तुरनन्दित ।
 मुरवेरिकुलध्वसी स्थूलस्तम्भुरमित्रहा ॥१२॥
 अमृतस्त्वंगस्मृक्षमस्त्यूलस्तुरगवाहन ।
 अमलो विमलो दयो वसुमान् वनगो गुरु ॥१३॥
 सर्वप्रियसर्वसाक्षी सर्वयोगीश्वरेश्वर ॥

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THE ASTRONOMICAL BACKGROUND OF VEDIC RUDRA AND PURĀNIC ŚIVA

BY SHRI M. RAJA RAO

“Saurāṣṭra deśe vidaśe-stiramye, Jyotirmayam candrakalā-vatamsam, Bhaktipradānāya kṛpāvatīrṇam, Tam SOMANĀTHAM śaraṇam prapadye.”

“Viyadvyāpī tārāgaṇagūṇitaphenodgamaruciḥ
Pravāho vārām pṛṣatalaghudṛṣṭah śirasi te,
Jagad-dvīpākārām jaladhivalayam tena kṛitam—
Ityantenaivonneyam dhṛtamahima divyam tava vapuh.”

The title Somanātha brings up before our eyes the familiar picture of Lord Śiva with the crescent moon peeping down at us from among the coils of matted hair that form his crest. The moon's constant companion is the divine Gaṅgā. To keep the coils in place Śiva has bound round them a huge water-snake (hradasarpa), a Hydra. His abode is Mount Kailas. His weapon is the trident or triśūla. He is an Ardhanārīvara; his consort Śrī Gaurī constitutes, as it were, the left half of his body. By his side stands the sacred bull, Nandī. Near by are sporting his two sons, Lord Kārttikeya and Lord Gaṇeśa. What a transition from the Vedic Rudra, the dreaded God of Storms, accompanied by his lightning-bejewelled bands of Maruts, his wild and matted locks flapping about in the whirlwind and hurting all those that came within their reach, to the Bholā-Śaṅkara, seated in deep meditation with all his eyes closed, and granting, without any discrimination, whatever boons his devotees asked of Him! The scenes of desolation and waste that the angry Rudra left behind Him were replaced in later times by the cremation ground that became the favourite haunt of Lord Śiva. Verily He continues to be the God of Destruction! Both Rudra and Śiva represent the wilder aspect of Cosmos—Nature in her angriest mood. Whatever has been created must suffer destruction. It is only the Uncreated Eternal He or She that can survive. All else was nought at the birth of the worlds; and will be nought again at the End.

Lord Somanātha is a composite God and combines in himself the salient features of Vedic Rudra and Vedic Soma. The Vedic Ṛsis were *Kapardins*, Lord Rudra was also a *Kapardin*. Rudra was

later identified with the Starry Heavens and became a Vyoma-keśin. It was but natural that the moon should get entangled in the braids of Rudra. Rudra became Somaśekhara or Somanātha. Rudra became associated with Kāla or Father Time. He was endowed with three eyes, that looked into the past, the present and the future. The Sun formed the right-eye, and the moon the left eye, midway between them at the centre of the forehead shone the third eye with the brilliance of Agni. The sun stands for the day, the moon for the night, Agni for the two twilights—the two Sandhyās set apart for the morning and evening Agnihotra.

The Vedic seers were fond of metaphors. They employed the fundamental relationship of father, mother, and child to describe the connection between cause and effect, between an action and its result. If the cause was a single force, it became the father or the mother to the result—their baby. The interaction between two forces ending in a concrete result was spoken of as the union of the father and mother. The elemental forces and primary emotions were personified into Gods and Goddesses. As they dealt with personifications, both the seers and their disciples felt no delicacy or saw no sin in attributing a freedom of intercourse between the personified objects that would be called incest if the participants had been real human beings. Rudra and Ambikā were brother and sister; Prajāpati and Rohini were father and daughter. Yet they married. Marriages between brother and sister were quite common among the Egyptians and the Persians. Curiously enough Rudra, under the special appellations of Bhūtavān and Paśupati, was selected by the Gods to punish Prajāpati for his incestuous marriage with Rohini. It is poetic imagination run riot, relieved by a touch of playful humour. The scene of this celestial drama was the starry heavens.

The exuberant fancies of the Vedic poets have been preserved in the astronomical myths and legends connected with the constellations extending, mainly along the zodiac, from the Kṛttikās to Maghā. The two exploits of Rudra, namely, the punishment of Prajāpati and the burning away of the Tripura cities, are located in this region of the sky. The Kirātarjunīya episode of the Mahābhārata is also capable of a similar celestial representation. Before we attempt to interpret ancient legends as astronomical myths, we have to divest ourselves of certain prejudices and assumptions regarding the extent of the astronomical knowledge and achievements of our ancestors. Whether the identifications of the constellations with the personages of the legends were original conceptions of the Indo-Aryans, or had been suggested to them when

they came into contact with the Greeks, or they were the common heritage of both the branches of the Aryan nations, is a minor point. What is more important is the manner in which the ancient seers wove their knowledge of the stars into beautiful fancies and legends which the sculptors of later times reduced to actual images of stone and metal, or which the artists illustrated as gorgeous pictures painted on the walls of rock-cut caves and temples.

The knowledge of the stars was orally handed down from father to son or from teacher to disciple; but no authentic star-maps were prepared. So the association of particular stars and groups with legendary personages and events is purely conjectural and problematic. At the time of the composition of the *Siddhāntas*, there was an attempt at classification; but as Greek ideas had been prevalent for some centuries, it is not possible to determine how far these classifications were based on original ancient traditions and how far they had been modified by the influx of Greek myths. So I shall content myself with merely pointing out how the Purāṇic concept of Śiva and his appurtenances coincide with the distribution of the several zodiacal constellations and those near them. The legends that are found in the Vedic *Samhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* date back to times far anterior to the Greek contact. Coincidences, where they occur, illustrate a common heritage.

The identification of Soma with the moon dates back to Rg-Vedic times. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* establishes an intimate association of Soma and Rudra. The Suṣumna rays of the sun fall on the moon and store up on it Soma, the immortal food of the gods, during the bright fortnight. But during the dark fortnight the gods successively drink up this Soma; the moon continues to wane, until on the day of new-moon only one-sixteenth of the original store is left. This quantity of Soma is called a kalā. It is sent down to the earth for being stored up in the Soma plant and other medicinal herbs, found on the earth. From the first day of the bright fortnight, the moon again begins to acquire one kalā of Soma per day from the rays of the sun; until on the full-moon day the stock is again sixteen kalās. This cycle of changes repeats itself once a month. The moon serves as a reservoir of Soma periodically emptied and replenished. This process is alluded to in the Rg-Vedic hymn on Sūryā's Wedding with Soma. The first five verses inform us that Soma is stationed in the heavens among the nakṣatras and contributes largely to the well-being of the Ādityas and the Earth. The Soma juice which the priests extract is not the real Soma whose praises they sing. No terrestrial being can taste the immortal food of the gods. As often as the gods drink the divine Soma the lake in

the moon gets filled up again. Vāyu is the guardian of Soma; the moon regulates the months and years. The marriage of Sūryā (the Suṣumna rays), the daughter of Savitṛ (sun) with Soma (the moon) is merely a symbolic representation of the illumination of the moon's disc by the sun's rays. The Vedic Soma is nothing but the eandra-kalā of the Purāṇas and the Śubhra-jyotsnā of our National Anthem.

According to the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Soma, the Moon, is the deity presiding over the Mṛgaśira nakṣatra. The Maitrīyaṇīya Saṁhitā allocates the overlordship of Mṛgaśira to the Maruts and transfers Soma to a twenty-eighth nakṣatra, Brāhmaṇa, between Bharnī and Kṛtikās. The Maruts are called the children of Rudra. The discrepancy merely establishes the equivalence of Rudra and Soma, and their co-dominium status. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa catalogues the nakṣatras and their attributes once in the first Aṣṭaka and again, in a more detailed manner, in the third Aṣṭaka. The two accounts differ both in contents and treatment. The first Aṣṭaka assigns three stars or groups of stars to each nakṣatra. The central star is the primary, with a secondary on either side. Each nakṣtra is associated with an object, person or idea indicated by the central star. The secondaries indicate its attributes or accompaniments. Whether the three stars that form a set are situated in a North-South line or West to East line in the order of increasing longitude is not clearly stated. The eastern secondary of the one is earlier in right ascension than the western companion of the next nakṣatra. Prajāpati, the lord of Rohiṇī, has for his associates medicinal herbs to the west and ḫpaḥ (water or juice) to the east. In his poem Ulysses, Tennyson calls the group, the rainy Hyades. Mṛgaśira is called Invakā. To the west are fibre-yielding plants; to the east is the finished cloth. "Saumyam vai vāsaḥ." Soma is the weaver or the wearer. "Rudrasya Bāhū; Mṛgavayah parastāt, vikṣāro avastāt." At the centre of the Ardrā group are the two arms of Rudra holding the bow and the arrow. To the east is seen his head in Sirius, adjusting his aim; to the west lies the target—Prajāpati's head or the three Asura cities. The imagery changes again with Punarvasū. Aditi is the central group, consisting probably of two stars in the north and two to the south of the ecliptic at equal distances; to the east are the rain-bearing monsoon winds; to the west are the flood-waters flowing to the west. This is an accurate description of the Punjab water-shed with the Śatadru and the other tributaries of the Sindhu flowing west. Tiṣya is the next nakṣatra with Bṛhaspati as overlord. It represents a Soma sacrifice. To the west sits the sacrificer; the priest comes next with the sacrificial prayers; to the east are the

offerings made. The description continues in the same vein with constant change of topics “*Bṛhaspates-tiṣyāḥ*” says the *Tait.* *Brāhmaṇa*; “*Rudro vai Tiṣyāḥ, Somaḥ Pūrṇamasas-sākṣādeva brahmavarcasam avarudhe*” says the *Śaṁhitā*. The *Śaṁhitā* associates Rudra also with Tiṣya in addition to Bṛhaspati. The *Rg-veda* alludes to Tiṣya as the most brilliant star in the sky and says that it never vanishes from the sky (*R.V.* 5-54-13). In *Rg-veda*, X-64-8, Tiṣya is associated with the archer Kṛśānu and Rudra. Kṛśānu is the Gandharva archer guarding Soma; he wounds the foot of Gāyatri when she brings away the Soma. There is obviously a confusion of metaphors. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* emphasizes the intimate connection between the three nakṣatras—Ārdrā, Punarvasū and Tiṣya. (I-10-2). “*Sahasravṛd iyam bhūmih, param vyoma sahasravṛt; Aśvinā, Bhujjyū, Nāsatyā; Viśvasya jagataspāti. Jāyā bhūmih, patirvyoma; mithunam tā aturyathuh; putro Bṛhaspatī Rudrah, Saramā iti strīpumam.*” The association of Rudra with Ārdrā and Bṛhaspatī with Tiṣya follows naturally; but the identity of Saramā is conjectural. Being a daughter, she must naturally find her abode with her mother in Punarvasū. Saramā is also variously identified with Indra as “*Sālāvṛkī* (female) T.S. Vi-2-4” (and *Tait. Āraṇyaka* I-6), and the she-dog in *Canis Minor*, Procyon.

The third Aṣṭaka of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* describes the association of the nakṣtras and their overlords in greater detail. “*Ādrayā Rudrah prathamāna eti; Śreṣṭho devānām, patiraghniyā nām; nakṣatram haviṣā vidhema. Mā naḥ prajām rīriṣat; mā uṭa vīrān; heti Rudrasya pariṇo vṛṇaktu; Ārdrā nakṣatram juṣatām havir naḥ; pramuncamānau duritāni viśvā; apa aghaśamsam nudatām arātim.*” May Rudra in Ārdrā protect us, our children and our warriors! May His dreadful weapon be turned away from us! May He drive away our sins and the sufferings they bring on us! May He completely destroy all our enemies!” A similar request is made to Bṛhaspati in Tiṣya; His aid is sought to overcome all enemies from whatever direction they might come. An interesting statement is made that Bṛhaspati was first discovered opposite Tiṣya. Modern scholars interpret this verse as indicating that the discovery of Jupiter as a planet was made when it first occulted the yoga-tārā of Tiṣya, about 4600 B.C. (Ketkar). Aditi is as usual associated with Punarvasū (dual). “*Adityai svāhā Punarvasubhyām.*” Rudra is clearly described as Gavāmpati; “*Raudrī vai Gauḥ.*” (T. Br. 2-2-5).

There are at least two legends, one relating to Vedic Rudra (Nakṣatrīya Rudra), and another relating to Purāṇic Śiva (Nakṣatrīya Śiva), that have a clear astronomical background. The story of

Prajāpati's incestuous passion for his own daughter is found in the *Aitareyo Brāhmaṇo*, (III-33), the *Śotopotho Brāhmaṇo* (I-7-4) the *Rg-vedo* (X-61-7) and Tilak's *Orion* (ch V p 98) among others. In his commentary on *Śotopotho Br* II-2-1-2, Śāyana remarks 'Iṣunā tasyo siros-echedo iṣuh sirascti ubhoyom ontorikṣom utplutyo nolśtrātmonā ovosthītom dṛsyote'. In the Śiva mahimna-stava of Puṣpadanta which is believed to have been the composition of Śrī Śankara, this incident is ascribed to Śivo in the following beautiful verse

Prajānātham nāthaprasabhamabhikam svām duhitaram
Gatam Rohidbhūtām rāramayiṣum ṛṣyasya vopuṣā
Dhanuṣpāner yātōm divamapī sapatrākṛtamomum
Trasantam te syādapi tyojati na mṛgavyādhā rabhosah'

In the last chapter of the Sauptiko parva of the *Mohābhārata*, we are told that in a sacrifice held by the Devas Rudro's portion was omitted. Rudra grew furious and pierced the Yajña with an arrow in the region of the heart. Yajña assumed the form of a flaming deer, flew up to the sky and has been stuck up there to this day. According to the *Aitareyo Brāhmaṇo*, the daughter of Prajāpati fled from him in the form of a red hind. He pursued her in the shape of a red hart and caught her up, and had intercourse with her. Thereupon the gods formed a terrible being by each contributing a portion of his indignation and asked him to punish Prajāpati. They called him Bhūtovan, but he desired to be known as Pasupati. They agreed. He discharged an arrow and transfixes the head of Prajāpati. It was transferred to the sky, where it can be seen to this day as the Deer's Head in the Mṛgasira nakṣatra (Orion). To the south of Orion and west of Sirius or Mṛgavyādha is a small constellation called the Hare. Since Soma the Moon is the overlord of Mṛgasira, it is but natural to assume that the deer's head in Orion and the Hare should represent the dark spots in the Moon, who thereby acquires the titles Mṛgāṅka and Śasadhara. The identification of Soma with the Moon in Mṛgasira and Rudra with Sirius enables us to form an astral picture of Lord Somanātha. Sirius marks the crown of his head. To the west is the Moon, to the East, the waters of the celestial Ganga or the Milky Way. The three stars in the belt of Orion constitute the three eyes of Rudra-Tryombako. The nebula in Orion supplies the smoke issuing out of his central eye wherein resides Agni. Vedic Rudra was Agni himself "Rudro vor eṣo yod Agnih". This vital characteristic of Vedic Rudra survived in the Purānic Śiva as the Agni in the central eye. The sparkling blue of Rigel and the scintillating red and blue of Sirius supply the illusion of the Nila-rohita

colouration of Śiva's neck. We have the constellation Hydra close by to constitute Śiva's ornament (*karṇapūram*). “*Gaṅgātarāṅga ramaṇīya jaṭakalāpam; Gaurinirantara vibhūṣita vāmabhāgam; Śitāṁśu śobhita kiriṭa virājamānam; bhālekṣaṇānalaviśoṣita pañca-bāṇam; nāgādhipāracita bhāsura karṇapūram; Vārāṇasīpurapatim bhaja Viśvanātham.*” In such immortal lines does Śaṅkara describe the Lord of the Universe, the patron deity of Banaras!—the nakṣatṛīya Somanātha! The Brāhmaṇas supply the additional information that in this story Prajāpati was the symbol of year-long sacrifice and his daughter was either the sky or the dawn (Uṣas). The term Yugādi is commonly applied to the new-year day; as pointed out by Dr. Shamasastri, Uṣas or Vyūṣṭi might have been in use to indicate the Vedic New-Year Day. Lokamanya B.G. Tilak put forward the suggestion that the Prajāpati story was merely a metaphorical device adopted by the Vedic priests to record their observation that the equinoctial New-year Day commencing the season of Vasanta had changed its position in the year from the fortnight in which the sun was in Mṛgaśira to the fortnight in which it was in the Rohiṇī division. In his notes to the Bhīṣma-parva, Dr. Belvalkar has pointed out that the Uttarāyaṇa that was awaited by Bhīṣma was the sun's crossing the equator from the south to the north,—not the winter solstice as is commonly supposed. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa endorses this view. (*Śata. Br. II-1-3-1 to 3.*). Varāhamihira, in his *Bṛhat-Samhitā*, defines an Utpāta as any event that transcends common experience; anything that occurs out of season or appears contrary to Nature. “*Rtu-svabhāvaja hyete dr̥ṣṭāḥ svartau śubhapradah; Rtoranyatra çotpātah dr̥ṣṭah te nātidāruṇāḥ.*” (Ch. 46-95) “*Prakṛter anyatvam utpātah*” (Ch. 50). Garga regards the precession of the winter solstice from the first point of Dhaniṣṭhā as Utpāta of the first magnitude. “*Samvatsarāḥ Prajapatih; Prajāpatir yajñāḥ*” (*Ait. Br. ii-17*). Another Vedic poet describes the every-day Sun as running after Uṣas as young men run after a young maiden in the first flush of youth “*Sūryo devīm uṣasam rocamānām maryo na yoṣām abhyeti paścāt.*” (*R.V. 115-2; Kutsa Āngirasa*). The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* story employs the same simile with regard to the Equinoctial Sun, and the New Year Dawn.

Let us now turn our attention from Vedic Rudra to the Purāṇic Somanātha. The most popular legend connected with Lord Śiva is the burning away of Tripura. The elaborate account of the event given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* is a combination of three separate incidents: viz. *Tārakāmaya*—the war between Kārttikeya and Tārakāsura; *Tripura-dahana*, the destruction of the three magic cities of Mayāsura by Śiva with a single arrow; *Andhakāsura-saṁhāra*—a popular festival celebrated on the full-moon of Mārgaśira or Pauṣa

in all Śaivite temples in South India, symbolising the defeat of Andhakāsura. Śiva as Naṭarāja dances in ecstasy over this dead body. The names of the three Asuras are highly suggestive of their astronomical origin or significance. Tārakā means a star; Mayāsura is an Asura well-versed in magic; Andhakāsura is the Demon of Darkness, both actual and figurative. Andhaka is one of the several names assigned to the nakṣatra, Mṛgaśira. How it got that name we do not know. If conjectures are permitted, we can derive it from Andhas—the food of the gods or Soma. Soma, as we know, is the overlord of Mṛgaśira. If Andhaka is interpreted as Andha-tāmisra or pitch-darkness, Soma or the moon becomes the destroyer of the demon of darkness. The only cause of darkness on a full-moon night is a lunar eclipse. Andhakāsura may stand for the Demon causing the Eclipse. Whomsoever he might represent Andhaka was regarded as a foe of Rudra and must stand for a star or star-group in a line with Sirius and the three stars of Orion constituting the *trikāndabāṇa* or three barbed arrow of Rudra. The Andhakāsura-saṁhāra festival might have originated on the occasion of a total lunar eclipse of very long duration on the full-moon of Mārgaśira month. The picture of Andhakāsura is painted on an upright screen and is shot at by an arrow of moving lights. The screen is let down rapidly with coloured water dripping down its sides. Then the image-bearers stamp wildly on a figure of the Asura chalked out on the ground, uttering wild shouts of joy and victory. Goddess Pārvati arrives on the scene and calms down the fury of her consort. Before day-break on the same night, at early dawn, the devout worshippers take an early bath and visit the temple to catch a glimpse of Lord Naṭarāja, in His benevolent mood. The dread Rudra of the previous night has become Arudra, the moon has slipped into the Ārdrā nakṣatra and His darśana is most auspicious. The bath is rendered doubly essential by the occurrence of a lunar eclipse.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the drama of Tripura-dahana was enacted on the full-moon in Tiṣya in the month of Pauṣa. Great emphasis has been laid on the Puṣya-yoga. (Chs. 135 to 140). We are not told what exactly Puṣya-yoga stands for, whether it is the conjunction of Jupiter with Tiṣya as commonly adopted by the Jaina poets, or the occultation of the yogatāra by the moon, or the full-moon in Puṣya. The destruction of Tripura is said to have come about near the time of sunrise on the night of the full-moon in Tiṣya. So we may assume Puṣya-yoga implies the full-moon in Puṣya-nakṣatra. The *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* furnishes the basis for the Tripura legend. The observance of the *Upasads* in a Soma sacrifice is parallel to the action of an attacking army when it entrenches itself round a fort to force it to surrender. "The Asuras had three citadels; the

lowest was of iron, then there was one of silver, then one of gold. The gods could not conquer them; they sought to conquer them by siege; therefore they say—both those who know thus and those who do not—by siege they conquer great citadels. They made ready an arrow—Agni as the point, Soma as the socket, Viṣṇu as the shaft. They said, “who shall shoot it?” “Rudra” they said, “Rudra” is cruel; let him shoot it. He said “Let me choose a boon; let me be overlord of animals”. Therefore is Rudra overlord of animals. Rudra let the arrow go; it cleft the three citadels and drove the Asuras away from these worlds. The observance of the *Upasads* is for the driving away of foes.” (T.S. VI-2-3 Dr. Keith.)

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Mayāsura obtains from Brahmā a special boon that his three magic cities, respectively of iron, silver and gold, should be invulnerable to all attacks and could be destroyed only by Lord Rudra with a single arrow shot in Puṣya-yoga. These cities kept moving about constantly in all directions and would come together in a single line once in a thousand years. In response to the prayers of the harassed Devas, Lord Rudra consents to lead the army of the Devas and besieges the cities of Mayāsura. The siege continues for a long time, since Rudra has to await the advent of the auspicious Puṣya-yoga. (a) The first attack on Tripura ends in a defeat for Mayāsura, who, however, manages to overpower Svāmi Kārttikeya. Of his two generals, Vidyunmāli the governor of the Silver fort and Tāraka the commander of the iron fort, Vidyunmāli is overpowered by Nandikeśvara and slain. Maya has a magic well of ambrosia inside the fort and he revives all his slain soldiers by dipping them in its nectar. A series of skirmishes follow the first attack; but as often as the Asuras are killed, they are revived by the well of nectar. (b) The Devas discover this secret and Lord Viṣṇu assumes the form of a bull, enters the city and drains up the wells of nectar dry. (c) Mayāsura gets frightened and by the aid of his magical powers transports his cities to the western ocean. Then begins the third stage of the war. The Devas however, pursue him to the ocean and beleaguer the cities on all sides. Nandikeśvara kills both Tāraka and Vidyunmāli. The long-awaited Puṣya-yoga arrives and Rudra shoots his composite arrow endowed with special powers by Agni, Soma and Viṣṇu. The three cities are burnt up just as the full-moon is setting in the west and the brilliant sun is rising in the east. Mayāsura is saved by Rudra himself and runs away to the far-off regions whence he issues periodically to fight his battles over again.

Those who gave the final shape to the Tripura legend should have been clever astronomers. As pointed out by Lok. Tilak, the

pictorial representation of the starry heavens seems to be a common heritage of the Indo-European Aryans, with local modifications introduced later on (*Orion*, Ch V, p 101) The anthropomorphic attributes of Lords Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahma appear to have been based on the distribution of the several constellations Starting with the allocation of Āṛdrā to Rudra, we see him in his role of Divine Archer or Hunter in Sirius, accompanied by his dogs Canis Major and Canis Minor, hunting the wild boar in Monoceros, and disputing its possession with Arjuna in the Phalgunis The celestial waters of the Milky Way flow through his matted locks We have Soma the Moon in Orion bearing the emblem of the Deer's-Head (in Orion's belt) and that of Lepus, the Hare The celestial Gangā descends to the Pātāla regions as Eridanus the River, running down to Agastya the Divine Fisherman waiting with his Boat, the Argo-Navis (Vide *R V*, X-63-10). His consort, Pārvatī, is by his side in Punarvasū, claiming for herself the left half of his body and making him an Ardha-nārīsvara His mount, Nandi is at his foot in Taurus, the Bull Brahmapūra, his charioteer in the Tripura expedition, is stationed in Auriga the Charioteer, with bright Capella as Brahmahrdaya The chariot itself may be found in the Rohini-śakata (Hyades), with the bull's horns lifting it up when it sank into the ground under the weight of Lord Rudra and his panoply To his right the Krittikās point out the birth-place of his son, Lord Kārttikeya Orion is Mount Kailāsa and also Śaryanavat the celestial abode of Soma Kriśānu the Archer is there guarding Soma Lord Viṣṇu of the three strides is reclining on his favourite serpent-couch floating on the milky waters of the Āśādās His favourite mount Garuda can be found in Aquila His navel-born son, Brahmapūra, shines as Vega or Abhijit, with his own mount Cygnus the Swan standing or floating near by in the ramifications of the Milky Way

We may identify the three continually-moving castles of Tripura with the three superior planets, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Venus and Mercury are out of the race since they cannot be seen near a full-moon The condition laid down that they should be found in a straight line with the arrow implies either that they had a common Right Ascension or were found to lie in a line with Sirius or Betelgeuse or the stars of Orion's belt, on the full-moon in Pusya Employing the data given in the Planetary Tables of the *Indian Ephemeris* by Swamikannu Pillay, I find two dates satisfying the conditions The earlier date is B C 2271 (minus 2270), the later is 503 B C (minus 502) On both these dates there was the chance of a lunar eclipse—total in B C 2271 and penumbral in B C 503 The planets were clustered together within a space of eight degrees of longitude, between Rohini (Aldebaran) and Betelgeuse (Āṛdrā) The

full-moon in Puṣya was also in a line with them. We have to remember that all these observations were made and appearances judged with the naked eye. The curious reader can verify for himself the data given below and enlist the assistance of an expert professional astronomer for more accurate values. The maximum latitude of Jupiter and Mars is just over a degree; that of Saturn does not exceed two degrees and a half.

Solar year.	Minus 2270=B. C. 2271			Minus 502=B. C. 503				
Planet.	Jupiter	Saturn	Mars	Ardra	Jup.	Sat.	Mars.	Rudra
Nirayana Longitude	54	58	62	67	.72	64	69	67
Ascending Node	98	116	58	..	90	106	45	..
Planet from node.	-44	-58	+4	..	-18	-42	+24	..

I conclude this extremely fascinating study of the astronomical background of the several legends about Rudra and Śiva with the following verse from the *Saundaryalaharī* of Śrī Saṅkara:

Śaraj-jyotsnāśuddham śāsiyutajaṭājūṭamakuṭam
 Varatrāsatrāṇasphaṭikaghāṭikā pustakakarām
 Sakṛṇ-natvā natvā kathamiva satām samnidadhate
 Madhukṣīradrākṣā madhurimadhuriṇah phanītayah. (15).

BHĀRATI

ŚAIVISM IN EARLY MEDIAEVAL INDIA AS KNOWN FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES MAINLY INSCRIPTIONS

V. S. PATHAK

During Early Medieval Period Śaivism was very popular in Northern India. Majority of Gahadavāla¹, Chedi², Chandella³ and Orissa kings⁴ were styled as *Parama-māheśvara*. Harjaravarṇmā and Vaidyadeva of Assam, Vijayasena, Vallālasena of Bengal, Devapāla, Paramāra and Bhartrivadha Chāhamāna of Western India also bore this religious epithet.

Several rulers dedicated their kingdoms either to Śiva or to Śaiva ascetics. Thus, Avantivarman⁵ of the Mattamayūra region and a Chedi

¹ Chandradeva (*EI*, XIV, 197-200), Madanapāla (*IA*, XIV, 101 ff), Govindachandra (*JASB*, XXXI, 123-24) and Harischandra (*EI*, X, pp. 97-98).

Lakshmi-Karṇa (*EI*, II, pp. 305 ff), Yaśah-Karṇa (*EI*, XII, 210 ff), Narasimhadeva (*IA*, XVIII, pp. 211-13), Jayasīṁha (*IA*, XVII, 224 ff), Vijayasīṁha (*IA*, XVII, 227-30).

Devavarman (*IA*, XVI, 205 ff), Madanavarṇmā (*IA*, XVI, 202, 207-10), Parmatddi (*EI*, IV, pp. 135-70), Trailokya-varimmadeva (*EI*, XVI, pp. 272-77).

Mahābhagavagupta Janmejaya (*EI*, XI, pp. 93-95), Mahāśivagupta Yayāti (*JBORS*, II, 45-59), Mahābhagavagupta II (*EI*, III, pp. 355-59), *Gayādatunga* (*JASB*, 1909, V(N.S.) pp. 347-50, Ranabhañja (*EI*, XII, pp. 321-25), Vidyabhañja (*EI*, IX, 271-77), Netrabhañja (*EI*, XVIII, 293-95), Kulastambha (*EI*, XII, pp. 156-59), Raṇastambha (*JBORS*, II, pp. 396-400).

⁶ गत्वा तपस्यन्तमुपेन्द्रपूर्वे पुरे तदा श्रीपदवन्तिवर्मा ।

भृशं समाराध्य तमात्मभूमि कर्यचिदानीय चकार पूताभ् ॥

अथोपसद्याप्य च सम्यगेशी दीक्षा स दक्षो गुरुदक्षिणार्थम् ।

निवेद्य तस्मै निजराज्यसार स्वजन्मसाकल्यमदाप भूयः ॥१३॥

king of Dāhala had presented their kingdoms to the pontiffs of Śaiva-Siddhānta school.

The *Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi* records a tradition that a Solaṅki chief had given whole of the Mālava province as a present to Mahākāleśvara of Ujjain and appointed the Paramāras to administer¹ it. An inscription from Achalagadha discloses the existence of *Vijaya-rājya*² of a Śaiva ascetic. The Chedi records describe Vāmadeva who is perhaps identical with Vāmaśambhu, as *Parama-Bhāṭṭāraka Mahārāājdhīrāja-Parameśvara-Vāma-deva*.

Some of the ascetics belonging to the Guhāvāsi line of Śaiva Siddhānta were very influential. They initiated in the faith the kings of Varmman dynasty in the Punjab and Chedi, Paramāra and Chanderi-Pratihāra dynasties of Central India. This line sent its branches to far off south in the Tamil and Andhra areas where these ascetics filled the role of *rājagurus*. Inscriptions preserve an unbroken line of Śaiva *rājagurus* of the Chedi kings running for more than two hundred and fifty years.

Sometimes, Purāṇas divide Śaivism in three categories—(i) Vedic, (ii) Tāntric and (iii) Mixed (*Miśra*).³ In the mixed (*miśra*) school of Śaivism, the main deity Śiva was worshipped along with other four gods. This school is, therefore, same as the *Smārtta* cult of the *pañchadevopāsanā*. Vedic Śaiva school appears to be same as Lākulīśa Pāśupata whereas Tāntric school was perhaps constituted by Kālānana, Kāpālika and other extreme sects. It may, however, be noted that even Lākulīśa Pāśupata is originally *Āgamic* but it is described in the Purāṇas as Vedic because it is comparatively more orthodox and in the beginning it recognised the Vedic institution of Varṇa. The Śaiva-Siddhānta school was *Āgamic*.

¹ देवादेशाद्भुजद्वये लग्ने सति तं मालवदेशं सान्तः पुरं तस्मै देवाय दत्त्वा तद्रक्षाधिकृतान् परमारराजपुत्रान् नियोज्य स्वयमेव तापसीं दीक्षामंगीचक्रे ।

Prabandha Chintāmaṇi, p. 11.

² महाशैले श्री अचलेस्व (श्व) र महामठात् परमभट्टारक परममाहेस्व (श्व) रः परनिरंजनः कन्दर्दर्पदलनस्वंवस (श) उद्योतकर राज श्री सर्वेस्व (श्व) र महामुनीन्द्र विजयराज्ये ५-७

J. Orissa H. R., 1952, I, p. 50

³ तांत्रिकं वैदिकं मिश्रं त्रिधा पाशुपतं शुभम् ।
तप्तर्लिगांकशूलादिधारणं तान्त्रिकं मतम् ॥
लिंगरूद्राक्षभस्मादिधारणं वैदिकं भवेत् ।
र्वं शम्भुं तथा शक्तिविघ्नेशं च जनार्दनम् ॥
यज्ञित समभावेन मिश्रं पाशुपतं हि तत् ॥

Kūrma Purāṇa as quoted in *Śrikarabhbāshya*.

SCHOOLS OF SAIVISM

The *Malkapuram¹* Stone Ins of the time of the Kākātiya king Rudra deva Š S 1183 mentions four schools of Saivism—(a) Šaiva, (b) Kālānana, (c) Šiva Šāsana and (d) Paśupata. Lists of these schools occur in the *Vāmana²* and *Šiva Purāna³*, the Āgima Pramānya⁴ of Yāmunāchārya, the Šri bhāshya⁵ of Rāmanuja, the commentary⁶ of Vāchaspati Miśra on the *Sārīraka bhāshya*, the *Shaddarśana Samuchchaya⁷* of Haribhadra Sūri and other Āgamic⁸ works.

A comparison of these lists would indicate that the four important schools with their sub sects were prevalent in the country—

- (a) Šaiva or more precisely Šaiva Siddhānta school,
- (b) Kālānana also known as Kārunka,
- (c) Paśupata with a branch of the Lākuliša Paśupata,
- (d) Kāpālika with its associate cult of the Soma⁹

¹ उपेयुपा शैवतपोधनाना कालाननाना शिवशासनानाम् ।
विद्यार्थिना पाशुपतद्रत्तानामप्यशब्दस्त्रादिसमर्पणाय ॥

Viśveśvara, the Šaiva pontiff had sanctioned a land-grant for providing meals and clothes to the students and ascetics belonging to these four sects
JAHRS, IV 147, ff

- १ आदृ शैव परिष्वातमन्यत्पाशुपत मुने । तृतीय कालवदन चतुर्थं च कपालिनम् ॥
- २ शैवा सिद्धान्तमागस्था शैवा पाशुपतास्तथा ।
शैवा महाब्रतधराशैवा कापालिकापरे ॥ *Vayavīya Samhīta XXIX*
- ३ यथा माहेश्वरे तत्र विशद्व बृजलितम् । चतुर्विद्याहि तत्सिद्धचर्यमागर्निसारिण ॥
यथा कापालिका कालामुखा पाशुपतास्तथा । शैवास्तवच कापालमतभेद प्रचक्षते ।

Āgamaprāmānya p

- ४ इदानी पशुपतिमतस्य वेदविरोधादसामजस्याच्चनादरणीयतोच्चते । तत्मतानु सारिणश्चतुर्विधा कापाला कालामुखा पाशुपता शैवास्त्वेति ।

On Brahmasūtra II 2-35

- ५ माहेश्वराश्चत्वार शैवा पाशुपता काहणिक काशक सिद्धान्तिन कापालिकश्चेति ।
- ६ ते च शैवादि भेदेन चतुर्था भवन्ति । तदुक्तम्
आधारभस्मकीपीनजटायज्ञोपवीतिन । स्वस्याचारादिभेदेन चतुर्था स्यु तपस्विन ।
शैवा पाशुपताशर्चैव महाब्रतधरास्तथा । तुर्या कालामुखा मुरया भद्रास्तेपा तपस्विनाम् ।
- ७ शैव पाशुपत सौम लाकुल च चतुर्विधम् । *Suprabhedāgama, Kriyāpāda Isana Śivaguru paddhati*, pt. III, Kriyapada, Ch I, p 6, quotes *Śrājambhu Tantra* as follows

पुन स्वेच्छावतारेषु तत्र पाशुपत तथा । वा (ला) कुल सोमतन्त्र च जगाद परमेश्वर ।
तत्र शैव तु मुख्य स्याद् यदादी शिवमपितम् ।

⁹ The Kāpalikas are associated with the Soma cult in inscriptions as well as in literature. *Vide, Prabodha Chandrodaya*, act III and see *infra*

Sometimes it is mentioned as Śiva-Śāsana or Mahāvrata-dhara.¹ Some south Indian inscriptions mention the “six samayas or cults” which have been alternatively explained as (a) Bhairava, (b) Vāma, (c) Kālāmukha, (d) Mahāvrata, (e) Pāśupata and (f) Śaiva. The last four are the same as above. The ‘Vāma’ and ‘Bhairava’ cults are not mentioned in inscriptions. They may be same as kāpālika. The Śāṅkara-Digvijaya of Ānandagiri mentions some other six sects.² Literature contains some more names.³

1. PĀŚUPATA SCHOOL

1. HISTORY

A. Śrīkanṭha the Founder :—

The *Mahābhārata* mentions Pāśupata as one of the five religious schools. It is stated to have been revealed by Śrīkanṭha, the consort of Umā and son⁴ of Brahmā. The tradition recurs in several works belonging

¹ It may be noted that in the *Vāyavīya Samhitā* quoted in fn.3 above *mahāvrata-dhara* occurs in place of Kālānana and distinct from the Kāpālika but vide *Haridatta Sūri* who takes it as a name of the Kāpālika sect. There seems to be some mistake in the *Vāyavīya Samhitā*. Dr. Bhandarkar seems to be indecisive. He sometimes identifies *mahāvrata-dharas* with Kālāmukhas and sometimes with Kāpālikas (p. 168).

² भुजद्वयलिंगधराः शैवाः । फाले त्रिशूलधारिणः रौद्राः । भुजद्वये डमरुधारिणः उग्राः फाले लिंगचिह्नधारिणः भट्टाः । हृदि त्रिशूलं शिरसि पाषाणलिंगञ्च धारिणो जंगमाः । ललाटे भुजद्वये हृशाभिषु लिंगधारिणः पाशुपता इत्युच्यन्ते ।

³ (a) केचिल्लोकायतं ब्रह्मन् केचित् सोमं महासुने ।
नाकुलं केचिदिच्छन्ति तथा केचित्तुभैरवम् ॥

Tantrādhikāri-nirṇaya, p. 2.

The *Lokāyata* sect has been mentioned here as a Śaiva school although different from the Soma cult.

(b) शैववैमलसिद्धान्ता आर्हताः कारुकाश्च ये ।

Tantrāloka, XIII, V. 8. Here *Vaimala* and *ārhatā* also seem to be sub-sects or schools of Saivism.

⁴ सांख्यं योगं पांचरात्रं वेदाः पाशुपतन्तथा ।
ज्ञानान्येतानि राजर्णे विद्धि नानामतानि वै ॥६४॥
उमापतिर्भूतपतिः श्रीकण्ठो ब्रह्मणः सुतः ।
उक्तवानिदमंव्यग्रो ज्ञानं पाशुपतं शिवः ॥६७॥

Sāntiparva, 349.

to various schools of Śaivism and composed in different parts of the country. It is recorded in the *Tantraloka*¹ the *Śivadrishti*² the *Brihadīyāmala*³ the *Pingalāmata*⁴ and the *Śiva Purana*⁵. A commentary on the *Śaradatilaka*⁶ begins with a salutation to Śrikanṭha, the first teacher of the doctrine. The *Tantraloka*⁷ likewise describes Śrikanṭha as the unique teacher on the earth. Aghorāśiva, the Śaiva Siddhānta ascetic of the Chola country commending upon the *Ratnatraya* mentions Śrikanṭha as the Guru to be saluted in the beginning.⁸

(1) *Works of Śrikanṭha* —The *Tantraloka* mentions the *Māngalya Śāstra* in which Śrikanṭha discussed the nature of Śakti and Śaktimān.⁹ The same work quotes in another context some verses from a book by¹⁰

¹ *Kashmir Shaivism*, pp 56, *Tantraloka*, I, p 27

² कलौ प्रवृत्ते यातेषु दुर्गमगोचरम् । कठपिप्रामप्रमुखच्छिन्नं शिवशासने ॥
कैलासाद्वौ भ्रमन्देवो मूर्त्या श्रीवष्ट्रल्पया । अनुग्राहायवतीर्णश्चादयामास भूतलं ॥
Ibid, pp 22-23

³ ज्ञानैधेनसमाप्त्यात् पदवध्यजनेन तु ।

श्रीकण्ठस्य प्रसादेन सर्वोऽप्य परिणतो मम ॥ *Studies in the Tantras*, p 102
श्रीकण्ठे महान्त्रोक्त भूत्वा सदाशिवपदात् । सरहस्य महादेवि शृणुष्वेकाग्रमानन्ता ।
Ibid, p 103

⁴ अस्य तन्त्रस्य का सज्जा, पिगलामत सज्जा ॥ १ । क कर्ता भगवान् श्रीकण्ठनाथ कर्ता ।
Ibid, p 106

⁵ श्रीकण्ठेन शिवेनोक्ता शिवायै च शिवागमा ।

शिवाश्चित्ताना कठरण्यात् श्रेयसामेककारणम् ॥ १, *Vayavaya*, Siva, Ch IX

⁶ श्रीकण्ठ वसुमन्त वसुगुप्त सोभानन्द तथोत्पत्ताचार्यम् ।
लक्ष्मणमभिनवगुप्त वन्दे श्रीक्षेमराज च ॥

Quoted in *Kashmir Shaivism*, p 25n

⁷ जयति गुरुरेक एव श्रीश्रीकण्ठो भूवि प्रदित ।

तदपरमूर्त्तिर्भगवान् महेश्वरो भूतिराजश्च ॥ *Tantraloka*, I, p 28

⁸ सकलसहितानामवतारकत्वेन गुरु भगवत् श्रीकण्ठनाथ सर्वविज्ञापह च गणपति
...अभिवन्दते । *Ratnatrayam*, p 1

⁹ शक्तयोस्य जगत्कृत्स्न शक्तिमास्तु महेश्वर ।

इति मागल्यशास्त्रे तु श्रीश्रीकण्ठो न्यरूपयत् ॥४०॥ *Tantraloka*, III, p 347

Jayaratha quotes verses from this work in the commentary

¹⁰ In the commentary *Jayaratha* says that इति श्री कण्ठनाथोक्ति
“this is the statement of Sri Śrikantha”

Sri Śrikantha as an authoritative Āgama has also been frequently quoted by *Jayaratha* —

एतच्च श्रीश्रीकण्ठयाभिधानपूर्वक विस्तरत उक्तम् ।

Tantraloka comm., I, p 39

Śrīkanṭha. The colophon of a manuscript of the *Tantrāsāra*¹ deposited in the Nepal Darbar Library mentions Śrīkanṭhanātha, another form of Paśupati, the great Pāśupata teacher as the writer of the book.

(ii) *Śrīkanṭha in the Śaiva Pantheon* :—Like many other human teachers Lakuliśa, Goraksha, etc. Śrīkanṭha is also recognised as a god in the Śaiva pantheon. Thus he is mentioned as a deity in various positions in the Trik school. He is sometimes regarded as identical with Sadāśiva having five faces probably because he revealed the doctrine having five sources (*pañchaśrotorūpa*).² He is guardian-protector of *Siddhi* as well.³ The form of Śrīkanṭha with five faces was accepted in the Lākuliśa school also. *The Cintrā Praśasti* mentions a temple for Śrīkanṭha *pañcha-mukha*, i.e. Śrīkanṭha having five⁴ faces. In the Śaiva Siddhānta school he is described as one of the eight Vidyeśvaras.⁵ The *Vishṇudharmottara Purāṇa* also counts him amongst Vidyeśvaras.⁶ *The⁷ Bihari Ins.* describes Yuvarāja II who dedicated his whole empire to his Śaiva Siddhānta preceptor as always engaged in the worship of Śrīkanṭha.

¹ A manuscript of the *Jñānakārikā* forms the suite with another text *Tatvasāra* the colophon of which reads.

श्रीपशुपतिभट्टारकस्य मूर्त्तिधरपरमपाशुपताचार्य-श्रीकण्ठगुरुणा स्वात्महेतोः
शानपुस्तकमिति शुभमस्तु ।

Bagchi, thereupon, remarks that this pretentious Śrī Śrīkanṭha “has probably nothing to do with the traditional *āchārya* of the Pāśupata sect bearing that name.” But the description—“the incarnation (*mūrtidhara*) of Paśupati and ‘the Great Pāśupata teacher’ points towards Śrīkanṭha of the tradition.

² See *infra* p. 8

³ प्रतिलोकं नियुक्तात्मा श्रीकण्ठो हठतो बहुः ।

सिद्धिर्दीदात्यसावेवं श्रीमद्भैरवशासने ॥ *Tantra.* V, p. 30.

⁴ श्रीकण्ठपञ्चमुखवासमधिष्ठितानि । येनाक्रियन्त कृतिनायतानि पञ्च ॥४०॥

EI, I, p. 284.

⁵ The *pūrvā-Kāraṇāgama* as quoted in Rao : *EHI*, II, II, App. 197.

अनन्तेशस्तथा सूक्ष्मशिवोत्तमश्चैकनेत्रकः ।

एकरुद्रस्त्रिमूर्त्तिश्च श्रीकण्ठश्च शिखण्डिनः ॥

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 197.

⁷ चित्रं यच्च सरस्वतीकृतरतिः श्रीकण्ठपूजापरः । V. 69

EI, I, p. 261.

B. *Lakuliśa* :—

The *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha* mentions Nā (*Lā*) *kuliśa*—Pāśupata school. Lakuliśa the founder of this Pāśupata school is stated as an incarnation of Śiva in the Purāṇas,¹ the *Ātma-Samarpaṇa*,² the *Kāravaṇa-Māhātmya*,³ the *Pañchārthika*⁴ commentary, the *Tantrāloka*,⁵ etc. He is also mentioned in a number of inscriptions. According to the Purāṇas he was the last and twenty-eighth incarnation of Śiva in a hrāhmaṇa family at Kayāvarahana (vulgo Kāravaṇa) in the Dahhoi Taluk of Baroda State. Rāśikara states that he preached his first sermon at Ujjain.

The Pāśupata *Sūtras*, also known as the *Pañchādhyayi*, form the basis of this school. As this work is attributed to him, R. G. Bhandarkar regards Lakuliśa as the founder of the Pāśupata school. He observes, “the other general name Pāśupata arose by dropping the name of the human individual Lakulin and substituting that of the god Paśupati whose incarnation he was supposed to be, as is done in the text of the *Mahābhārata* quoted above.”⁶ This means that the story of the promulgation of the Pāśupata doctrine by Śrikanṭha is but a fiction.

(i) *Śrikanṭha* and *Lakuliśa* :—But the tradition of Śrikanṭha as a teacher of the Śaiva religion occurring in the works of various schools of Saivism from different parts of the country, the mention of his name in the list of teachers, his description “as unique teacher on earth” and lastly quotations from works attributed to him are very strong indications in favour of his historicity.

Bagchi has casually suggested that “Lakuliśa was probably his disciple and that these two were responsible for the foundation of the Pāśupata religion.”⁷

The *Tantrāloka* associates Lakuliśa and Śrikanṭha. It states that Śrikanṭha and Lakuliśa are the only two authorities on Śiva Śāśana.⁸ The

¹ *Vāyu*, ch. XXIII., *Līṅga*, XXIV,

² *Gaṇa Kārikā*, G.O.S., App. I, p. 25.

³ *Ibid.* App. IV, p. 37.

⁴ मनुव्यरुपी भगवान् ग्राहणकाप्यमास्याय कायावतरणे अवतीर्ण इति । तथा पद्म्या-मुज्जिनी प्राप्तः । “अतो चक्रप्रचोदितः कुशिकभगवानभ्यागत्य…पृष्ठवान् ।

etc. p.4.

⁵ *Tantrāloka*, XIII, p. 340.

⁶ *Vaisnavism etc. Coll. Works of Bhandarkar*, IV, p. 172.

⁷ *HBD*, p. 405.

⁸ एतद्विपर्यादग्राह्यमवश्यं शिवशासनम् ।

द्वावप्तो तत्र च श्रीमच्छ्रीकण्ठलकुलेश्वरी ॥ *Tantrāloka*, XII, p. 396.

same work describes Lakuliśa with other Śaiva incarnations as proclaimer of the glories of Śrīkanṭha.¹

But Lakuliśa does not seem to be an immediate disciple of Śrīkanṭha because the accounts of Śrīkanṭha and Lakuliśa available from literature and inscriptions do not represent them as teacher and disciple on the other hand a tradition in the Āgama quoted by Abhinavagupta records the receiving of the doctrine by Lākula from Swachchhanda.² Moreover, references to the Pāśupata school occur centuries earlier than Lakuliśa.

It seems that the Pāśupata school was founded by Śrīkanṭha from which later on several branches sprung forth. The branch started by Lakuliśa was called after him as Lākuliśa Pāśupata.

2. HISTORY : SCHOOLS OF SAIVISM

A. Śiva Śāsana School :

The Pāśupata school founded by Śrīkanṭha is also called in literature as Śiva Śāsana.³ It is mentioned in the *Malkāpuram Ins. of Rudradeva*⁴. It is described as five-fold and as having five sources (pañcha-srotorūpa).⁵ All other schools are described to have originated from it.

B. Lākulīśa Pāśupata School :

Origin of the School :—The school was founded by Lakuliśa who as we have already seen is described as an incarnation of Śiva. Purāṇas and inscriptions mention Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Kaurusha as his disciples.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 340.

² *Ibid*, p. 383.

³ *Tantrāloka*, I, p. 34, XII, p. 397.

⁴ उपेयुपां शेवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनानाम् ।
विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपत्रतानामप्यन्नवस्त्रादि समर्पणाय ॥

JAHRS, VI, p. 147 ff.

⁵ तच्च पञ्चविधं प्रोक्तं शक्तिवैचित्र्यच्चित्रितम् ।
पञ्चस्रोत इति प्रोक्तं श्रीमच्छ्रीकण्ठशासनम् ॥१६॥

Tantrāloka, XII, p. 397.

The *pañchasrota* is explained by Jayaratha in *Tantrāloka*, I, p. 34 as :—
तत्र हि परमेश्वर एव चिद् आनन्द-इच्छा-ज्ञान-क्रियात्मकं वक्त्रपञ्चकासूत्रणेन सदा-
शिवेश्वरदशामधिशयानः तद्वक्त्रपञ्चकमेलनया पञ्चस्रोतोमयं अभेद-भेदाभेद-भेददशो-
द्वंकनेन तत्तद्वेदप्रभेदवैचित्र्यात्मनिखिलं शास्त्रमवतारयति

Date of Lākuliśa —R. G. Bhandarkar places the rise of the Pāśupata school in second century¹ B.C. while D. R. Bhandarkar suggested on the basis of the Mathurā Pillar Ins. of the time of Chandragupta II that Lākuliśa belonged to the second quarter of the first century A.D.² Although, this later date has been accepted by most scholars, it is not yet certain.³

Diffusion of the School —The Cintā Prakastī of Śāṅgadeva states that four branches (Jātis) sprung further from the four disciples of Lākuliśa.

(a) *The Kuśika Lineage* —Kuśika was the senior most disciple of Lākuliśa. The Mathurā Ins. of Chandragupta II mentions ascetics belonging to his line. The Udayapur Ins.⁴ of Naravāhana VS 1028=978 A.D. refers to Kuśika and records that ascetics characterized by "besmirching of ashes,

¹ *Vaisākhism, Sāivism & Other Minor Religions*, p. 116.

² *EI*, XXI, pp. 1ff.

³ The Mathurā Ins. of Chandragupta II G.S. 61-350 A.D. mentions *āchārya Udita* who was tenth from Kuśika. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies Kuśika with the homonymous disciple of Lākuliśa and, therefore, came to the conclusion that Lākuliśi, who must have flourished eleven generations before *Udita*, might be placed in second century A.D. But Rājākara mentions seventeen preceptors flourished in this line from Lākuliśa to Rājākara. In this list there are two preceptors of the name Kuśika, the direct disciple of Lākuliśa and the tenth *āchārya* who flourished in the sixth generation from Lākuliśi. The identification of Kuśika, therefore, is not certain. Rājākara the seventeenth *āchārya* has composed a commentary known as *Pāñkharī Bhāṣya*. The internal evidence of the *bhāṣya* suggests an early date of its composition. Pāñliputra has been mentioned as the best fortified city. Laws are comparable with those of Manu. The only known writer quoted in the work is Manu. This indicates early fourth century A.D. Hence if Rājākara in early fourth century A.D. was seventh from Kuśika II, the preceptor *Udita* of the inscription in late fourth century A.D. would be naturally tenth from Kuśika II. I, shall, therefore, suggest the identification with Kasika II which would place Lākuliśa in second century B.C. This gets some confirmation from an Indonesian tradition which represents the four disciples with Pūrṇajali as the Pāśupata pentad (*HBD* p. 406 n).

⁴ इह शुशिवगायंवौद्यतमीरेय इति तदत्तराद् ॥१६॥

ततस्तपस्विना सेषा चतुर्द्वा जातिष्ठृगता ।

शुश विभूपयामास चतुर्जन्यमुद्विता ॥१७॥ *EI*, I, p. 281

⁵ शुशिवादयोऽन्ये भस्मागरागतद्यल्पजटाविरीटद्वमाण आविभूम्यन्मूनय पुराणा ।

L. 12 *EI*, p. 70.

wearing of the barks and matted hair" appeared in his line. Jain scholars mention eighteen *tīrtheśas* headed by Lākulīśa and Kuśika.¹ They are also referred to by Bhāva Sarvajña. These ascetics perhaps belonged to this line.

(b) *Gārgya Lineage* :—

- (i) *The Cintrā Prasasti* discloses the existence of ascetics belonging to the *gotra* of Gārgya.²
- (ii) *The Meaning of Gotra* :—Inscriptions mention several *gotras* of ascetics. The word *gotra* in connection with ascetics has been defined by Abhinavagupta as "disciples of a teacher". *Gārgya gotra* would, therefore, mean the disciples in the line of Garga.³

The Cintrā Praśasti mentions Kārttika-rāśī, Taporāśī, Valmīki-rāśī and his disciple Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka as belonging to this line.

(c) *Kaurusha Line* :—The third disciple was Kaurusha. Literature mentions a school of Śaivism by the name Kāruka.⁴ Rāmānuja and Keśava Kaśmīri in the enumeration of Śaiva schools substitute Kālānana by Kāruka-Siddhānta.⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar, therefore, identifies Kārukas with Kālānanas.

He further suggests that Kāruka was either the corruption or the sanskritization of Kaurusha, the name of the third disciple of Lakulīśa who initiated the line of the Kārukas or the Kālānanas. The suggestion is confirmed by an inscription dated 1177 A.D. which describes the Kālānanas

¹ नकुलीशोऽथ कौशिकः, गार्यः, मेत्र्यः, कीरुपः, ईशानः, पारगर्यः, कपिलाण्ड, मनुष्यकः, कृशिकः, अत्रिः, पिगलः, पुष्पकः, वृहदार्यः, अगस्तिः, सन्तानः, राशीकरः विद्यागुह्यच । एते तेषां तीर्थेशाः पूजनीयाः । Haribhadra : *Shad-darśana Samsuchchaya*. Rājasekhara Sūri also enumerates them. Bhāva Sarvajña mentions them in his commentary on the *Gāya-Kārikā* (p. 14). The *Cintra Praśasti* records that the first four after Nakulisa were the अन्तसदः (disciples ?) of Lakulīśa himself. These four are again described as disciples of Lakulīśa in the Purāṇas.

² *EI*, I, p. 282, V. 19.

³ गोत्रं च गुरुसन्तानो मठिकाकुलशब्दितः । *Tantrāloka* III, p. 296.

⁴ शैवैमलसिद्धान्ता आर्हताः कास्काश्च ये ।

सर्वे ते पश्वो ज्ञेया भैरवे मातृमण्डले ॥ *Ibid*, VIII, p. 184.

मौसले कास्केचैव मायातत्वं प्रकीर्तितम् । *Ibid*, I, p. 70.

⁵ *Vaishnavism*, etc. p. 172.

as adhering to the *Lākulāgama samaya*. *The Tandikoda Ins* of Ammarāja furnishes even stronger evidence. It gives the history of a line of Kala mukha ascetics who traced their origin to Lākuliśa.¹

The history of this sect would be given a little later.

(d) *Ananta Gotra* —

- (i) Besides the branches mentioned above, an Āgamic tradition describes the continuation of the Lakula doctrine through *Ananta*.² Ascetics of this line therefore, were described as belonging to *Ananta Gotra*.
- (ii) *Ananta Gotra and the Kulas* — *The Harsha Stone Ins* records that Viśvarūpa flourished in "the tradition of *Kula*" while his disciple's disciple is described as belonging to the "*Kula*" cult of the *Sāṃsārikas*.³ This piece of information is of very great interest as it furnishes definite evidence to show the affiliation of the *Kula* school with the Lakulas.

Jāti or the branch originated with Maitreya is not known.

- (iii) *Ananta Gotra and Pāñchārthika Sect* — *Harsha Stone Ins* of *Vigrahapāla Chāhamāna VS 1030* records the guru Viśvarūpa who belonged to the Pāñchārthika sect of the Lakulas in the *ananta gotra*.⁴ *Tewar Ins* of *Gayakarnadeva KS 902=1151*

¹ *EI, XXIII*, pp 161 170

² Jayaratha (T A Comm, XII, p 383) quotes it as from Āgama
भैरवाद्वैरवी प्रात सिद्धयोगेश्वरी मतम् ।
तत स्वच्छददेवेन स्वच्छन्दाल्लाकुलेन तु ॥
लकुलीशादनन्तेन अनन्तादगहनाधिष्ठिम् ॥

³ महाराजावली चासी शभुभक्तिगुणोदया ।
श्रीहर्षे कुलदेवोऽस्यास्तस्माद्विद्य कुलकम् ॥२७॥
अनन्त गोच(त्)रे श्रीमान् पण्डित औत्तरेश्वर ।
पचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोभवदगुरु ॥२८॥
भावरक्तोभवत्स्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोलट ॥३०॥

सासारिककुलाम्नायस्ततो यस्य विनिर्णयं ॥३१॥ *EI II*, p 122

⁴ अनन्तगोचरे श्रीमान् पण्डित औत्तरेश्य (द्व) र ।
पचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोभवदगुरु ॥२८॥

EI, I, p 122, pl facing p 240

The word *gochara* in the *pl* reads like *gotre* 'Tri' with the *hala* assuming the form of *cha*. Anyway, the word '*anantagochara*' means in the line of '*ananta*'.

A.D. likewise describes Bhāvateja and his disciple Bhāvabrahma who flourished in the *ananta gotra* as Pāñchārthika.¹

Pāñchārtha seems to be another name for the Pāśupata *Sūtras*. Śiva Purāṇa mentions *Pañchārthavidyā* as the highest type of philosophy² while *Pañchādhyāyī* is referred to by Keśava Kaśmīrī.³ Sarvadarśana—*Samgraha* mentions the Pāśupata *Sūtras* as *Pañchārlha*.⁴ Pāñchārthikas, therefore, seem to be the followers of Lākulīśa who composed the Pāśupata *Sūtras*. It is noteworthy that both these inscriptions mention the Pāñchārthikas of *ananta gotra*.

- (iv) *Uttara Tantra* :—The same inscription describes Viśvarūpa as the master of *Uttara (taṇṭra)*. This *taṇṭra* also occurs in the *Sdok Kak Thom (Kambuj) Ins. of Udayadityavarman*,⁵ S. 974. Bagchi identifies it with the *Uttara-Sūtra* of the *Niśvāsatattva Saṃhitā* a manuscript of which in Gupta characters is preserved in the Nepal Darbar Library.⁶ Jayaratha also mentions *uttara* as a section of *Tantrika Saṃhitā*.⁷
- (v) *Uttara-Pūrva and the Kaulas* :—The *Niśvāsa-tattva Saṃhitā* really consists of four sections—(i) *Mūla-Sūtra*, (ii) *Adi-Uttara-Sūtra*, (iii) *Prathama=Naya-Sūtra* and (iv) *Pūrva=Guhya-Sūtra*. The *Uttara-Sūtra* consists of “installation of images, sacrifices, initiation (*abhisheka* and *dīkṣā*) and philosophy (*jñānayoga*) while the *Pūrva* or *Guhya-Sūtra* consists

¹ गोत्रेनन्त समाह्येऽभवदिनप्रख्यस्तपस्तेजसा ।

दृष्टादृष्टविशुद्धकर्मनिरतः श्रीभावतेजागुरुः ॥

आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थवचसां पांचार्थिको यः सुधी । IA, XVII, p. 210. ff.

² *Vāyavija Saṃhitā*, II, XXIV, 169.

³ *Vaishṇavism etc.*, p. 173.

⁴ loc. cit.

⁵ शास्त्रं शिरश्चेदविनाशिखास्यं
सम्मोहनामापि नयोत्तराख्यम् ।

तत्तुम्बुरोव्वक्त्रचतुष्कमस्य

सिद्ध्येव विप्रः समदर्शयत् सः ॥२८॥ Ins. of Kambuja, p. 374.

⁶ *Studies in Tantras*, pp. 6-8.

⁷ There are seven kinds of *tantrika* texts—

पादो मूलं तथोद्वारं उत्तरं वृहदुत्तरम् । कल्पश्च संहिता चैव कथिता तव सुन्नते ॥

T.A.Com, XII, p. 387.

of mystic practices *Lakshmidhara* in his commentary on the *Saundarya Lahari*¹ divides the Kaulas into two categories—(i) *Uttara Kaulas* who worship the images and yantras of gods and goddesses and (ii) *Pūra Kaulas* the mystic who worship the female organ of a young woman.

Thus, the Pāñchārthika Viśvarūpa of Ananta Gotra seems to have been affiliated with the *Uttara Kaulas*.

(e) *Chāpala Gotra* —The *Amareśvara Temple Ins* V S I(I)20 contains an account of Panditn Gāndadhvaja of the *chāpala gotra*². He was a disciple of Vivekarāśi who was again a disciple of *Supūjita rāshi*. The *Abu Ins of the reign of Bhīma II* V S 1265=1208 A D³ mentions Kedārarāśi who was the best of ascetics belonging to the *chāpala gotra* of the Nūtana monastery in Avanti. Significance of the *chāpala gotra* is not known.

(f) *Pranāma Gotra* —The *Amareśvara Temple Ins* mentions the *Pranāma gotra* of ascetics belonging to Somēśvara monastery.⁴

2 PHILOSOPHY OF THE LAKULIŚA PĀSUPATA SCHOOL

A Nyāya-Pāśupata Philosophy

Acharya Haribhadra Sūri in his *Shad-darśana samucchaya*⁵ observes that the adherents of Nyāya school were Śaivas while the Vaiśeshikas were Pāśupatas. Gunaratna⁶ also repeats the same thing. It is a fact that the followers of both Nyāya and Vaiśeshika schools were devoted to Śiva.⁷

¹ *Saundarya Lahari*, V 41

² *EI*, XXV, p 185, II 54-56

³ एतस्या पुरि नूतनाभिधमठात् सप्तश्चिद्यातया ।
धीरात्मा चपलीयगोत्रविश्वे निर्बोणमागर्नुग ॥
अमलचपलगोत्रप्रोद्यताना मुनीनामजनि तिलकस्पत्स्य केदाररागि ।

IA, XI, pp 220 ff

⁴ *EI*, XXV, p 185, L 51

⁵ अय योगमत व्रूम शैवमित्यपरमियम् ।
अक्षपादो गुरुस्तेषो तेन ते ह्यक्षपाददा ॥
अय वैशेषिक व्रूम पाशुपतान्यनामकम् ।

Shaddarśana Samucchchaya, pp 11-12.

⁶ पर शास्त्रेषु नैयायिका सदा शिवभक्त्वाच्छेदा इत्युच्यन्ते वैशेषिकास्तु पाशुपता ।

Gunaratna on Shaddarśana Samucchchaya, *Ibid*, p 30

⁷ The Purānas mention Akṣapāda and Kanāda as the disciples of Somaśarmā an incarnation of Śiva at Prabhāsa (*Vayavijja*, Śiva Purāna ch V, vv 41-42). According to a tradition, Kanāda formulated the Vaiśeshika doctrine after propitiating Śiva. Jayanta, Udayana and Vyomāśiva make obeisance to Śiva in the beginning of their writings.

worship but the statement that the Vaiśeshikas were all Pāśupatas in contradistinction to Naiyāyikas who were described as Śaivas seems to be faulty.

The combined testimony of literature and inscriptions clearly shows that Vyomaśiva, the Vaiśeshika author belonged to Śaiva Siddhānta school.¹ Bhā-Sarvajña, the Pāśupata teacher who composed the famous commentary Ratnaprabhā on the *Gāṇa-Kārikā* was the celebrated author of the *Nyāya-bhūshāṇa*. Udyotakara who composed a gloss on the *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, styles himself as a Pāśupata. Thus, there seems to be some mistake in the statement of Jain writers. The Śaivas were Vaiśeshikas in contradistinction to Pāśupatas who adhered to Nyāya school.

B. Pāñchārthika Philosophy :

Besides the general affiliation with the Nyāya school, the specific philosophy of the Pāśupatas was Pāñchārthika. The *pāñchārtha-lākula-āmnāya*² and the pāñchārthika³ sect have been mentioned in inscriptions. This *pāñchārtha* or the five categories propounded by Lākuliśa in the *Pāśupata Sūtras* are (i) Effect (*Kārya*), (ii) Cause (*Kāraṇa*), (iii) Religious practices (*Vidhi*), (iv) Yoga and (vi) Cessation of miseries (*Dukkhānta*).

Inscriptions mention some of these principles.

(a) *Cause* :—Thus *Tewar Ins. of Gayakarṇa* set up by a Pāśupata ascetic invokes Śiva “who is an architect of the three worlds, a poet of the three Vedas, characterised by three Śaktis—*yatna* (activity), *bodha* (knowledge) and *icchhā* (desire) and who manifests himself in eight forms.”⁴

The above verse in short sums up the Pāśupata conception of God—the Cause (*Kāraṇa*).

(i) *Śiva as Creator* :—Śiva is designated as *Pati* because he is endowed with Śakti.⁵ He with Śakti creates the universe but like an architect he is only an efficient cause (*nimitta*).

¹ See *infra*.

² पञ्चार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोऽभवद्गुरुः ॥२८॥ EI. II. p. 122.

³ आचार्योद्भुतकेवलार्थवचसां पांचार्थिको यस्मुधी ७
“पंचार्थबोध सुकृती” ११
भावब्रह्मसमस्तपरिच्छसु कलौ दृष्टो न पांचार्थिकः ॥

⁴ त्रैलोक्यसौधशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कविः ।
नित्यप्रयत्नबोधेच्छा सोऽष्टमूर्तिः श्रियैऽस्तुवः ॥ १ Ibid, p. 210.

⁵ *Prayatna* (kriyā i.e. activity), *Bodha* (knowledge) and *Icchhā* (desire) as mentioned in the inscription are the three Śaktis of *Pati*. *Vide* निरतिशयद्रवक्रियाशक्ति पतित्वम् । *Gāṇakārikā* p. 11.

- (ii) *Siva Revealed Vedas* —According to the Nyaya Paśupata philosophy the Vedas are *paurusheya* as they have been revealed by Śiva
- (b) *Religious Practices (Vidhi)* —They consist of the vows (*vratas*) specific practices known as *upahāras*, muttering of names (*japa*), circumambulation (*pradakshina*) mystic practices, etc

(c) *Yoga* —Inscription testify to the importance of *yoga* in the Paśupata school. The ascetic Bhavateja had constantly practised *yoga* while his disciple Bhava Brahma was ‘another Sanatkumara to perform all the yogic practices mentioned in the Patañjala literature’¹ *Niyama* (regulations), *Pranāyāma* (control of breath) and *Samādhi*² have been mentioned in inscriptions. They also refer to mental states like—*maitrī* (friendliness) *mudita* (the state of happiness) *Karunā* (compassion) etc³

(d) *Vow (Vrata)* —The Pasupata *vrata* consists in the besmearing of and sleeping over ashes. This is a very important and ancient practice. It frequently occurs in the Pasupata literature⁴ and is noted as the characteristic of Pasupata ascetics.

The *Udeypur Ins* of Naravahana mentions ascetics of this school “having the characteristics of the besmearing of ashes⁵ wearing of the

¹ यो ब्रह्मचर्यविधिनान्यसनत्कुमारं पातजलागमनिरूपितयोगसद् । १०

I.A, XVIII, 210 ff

² प्राणायाम समाधि सिद्धनियमध्यानासनैरन्वह १३ Ibid

³ मैत्री तस्य सुवीभिरात्ममुदिता शास्त्रागमे योगिनः

शिष्याना करुणा भवेच्च विपयोग्येद्या शिवानन्तः । १४ Ibid

⁴ The earliest reference occurs in the *Atharvaśirsha Upanishad* I para 67. The application of ashes is termed as *Paśupata vrata* and is meant for the loosening of the fetters of *patsu* (*patsu pasa uśmokshaya*). Varaha mihiira refers to *sabhasma dvija* who is entitled to consecrate the image of Śiva. Utpala explains *sabhasma dvija* as a Pasupata (DHI, p 230). The *Paśupata Sutras* (pp 8, 9) enjoin to besmear the body with ashes thrice a day भस्मनि निपवण स्थापीत and to sleep on ashes भस्मनि शपीत. Raśikara quotes an anonymous verse to the effect that a person who sleeps on ashes is freed from sins of heinous crimes —

मद्य पीत्वा गुरुदारात्म्वं गत्वा स्तेयं कृत्वा नः हृष्ट्याच्च छृत्वा ।

भस्मोद्धवस्तो भस्मराशी शयाना दद्राघ्यादी मुच्यते पातकेभ्यः ।

Pancharthi Bhashya p 29

Huen Tsang describes them as ‘the ash besmeared *tirthakas* while Rajaśekhara (p 11) and Haribhadra mention them as ‘ascetics who are anointed with ashes’

⁵ भस्मागरागतश्वल्कजटाकिरीटलक्ष्माण वाकिर्भवनमूनय पुराणा । BI p 70

barks of trees and matted hair.” According to the *Harsha Ins.* nakedness, matted hair, besmearing of ashes, sleeping on earth, food received as alms and hand used as drinking cup” were the features of ascetic Bhāvodyota.¹ Sleeping over ashes has been ordained in the *Pāśupata Sūtras*. *The Tewar Ins.* praises Bhāva Brahma because he sleeps over pure ashes.²

(i) *Sādhanā or Mystic Practices* :—These are objectionable acts deliberately performed by ascetics to bring themselves to ridicule. One of these is *Sringāraṇa* which is showing oneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures as if on seeing a beautiful lady. Rao suggests that some of the obscene sculptures in ancient temples depict these practices.³

(ii) *Other Practices* :—Bhāva Brahma has been described in inscriptions as one “who takes very small quantity of meals obtained through⁴ begging.” Kaundinya enjoins ascetics to take a very small quantity of meals and quotes a verse which highly extols the practice of begging.⁵

(iii) *Pūrta Activities* :—In the *ananta* school of the Pāśupatas, *Pūrta* activities were also recognised. The *Tewar Ins.* states that “the final deliverance of ascetics is attained by *pūrta* (which is a *nivartaka* activity) and knowledge (bodha). Therefore, Bhāva Brahma who desired salvation built this temple of Siva.”⁶ The *Swachchhanda Tantra* which as we have already seen was recognised in the *ananta* school, mentions two kinds of worshippers—(a) the devotee who travels on the path of knowledge and who is always engaged in the worship through *mantras* and (b) the worshipper who follows the path of the world and is engaged in performing the *ishta* and *pūrta* activities.⁷ The ascetic Bhāva Brahma combined both the ways of knowledge (*bodha*) and *nivartaka* activity (*pūrta*).

¹ दिगम्बरं जटा भस्म तल्पं च विपुलं मही ।
भिक्षावृत्तिः करः पात्रं यस्यैतानि परिग्रहः ॥४१॥

कौपीनमात्रवसनः शुचिभस्मशायी L. 10, IA, XVIII, 210ff.

³ EHI, I, p. 23n.

⁴ मितमैक्षभोजी LL. 9-10. IA, XVIII, pp. 210 ff.

⁵ The *Pāśupata Sūtras*, 14 and commentary on it (p. 119).

⁶ पूर्तेन धर्मेण निवर्त्तकेन मुक्तिर्भवेत् संयमिनश्च बोधात् ।
एतद् द्वयं प्राप्तुमयं मुमुक्षुव्यधापयदेवमिमां शिवस्य ॥१६॥

IA, XVIII, p. 210 ff.

⁷ ज्ञानवांशचाभिविक्तश्च मन्त्राराधनतत्परः ।
त्रिविधायास्तु सिद्धिर्वै सो त्राहं शिवसाधकः ॥८४॥
द्वितीयो लोकमार्गस्थ इष्टापूर्तविधौ रतः ।
कर्मकृत्फलमाकांक्षंशुभैकस्थो अवग्रह ॥८५॥

Swacchanda Tantra, Paṭala 4,
Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

(e) *Dukkhānta* —*The Tewar Ins* records that the ascetic Bhāvateja obtained "the association (*sāyujya*) with Śiva as a consequence of enlightenment (*bodha*)"¹ The pāśupatas believe in the *sāyujya* form of salvation It is mentioned in the *Paśupata Sūtras* and is elaborately discussed in the commentary of Raśikara According to it, a devotee does not merge himself in the Godhead hut merely obtains association with Him²

3 PANTHEON

Paśupatas are devoted to Śiva According to scriptures, they worship Śiva besmeared with ashes and wearing *jatā mukuta*³ *Isāna śiva guru paddhati* describes the Paśupata form of Śiva which might have been the form for the Paśupatas⁴ to worship

A The Eight Forms of Śiva —

The Tewar Ins invokes Śiva who manifests himself in eight forms⁵ *The Harsha Stone Inscription* set up by a Pañcharthīla eulogises the mountain Harsha where Śivo in eight forms, the guardians of eight *siddhis*, resides⁶ These eight forms of Śiva are mentioned in a number of inscriptions in India and Greater India⁷

The concept of eight forms is very ancient and is associated with the cult of Paśupati These forms are (i) Sarva, (ii) Bhava, (iii) Isāna, (iv) Rudra, (v) Ugra (vi) Bhīma, (vii) Paśupati and (viii) Mahadova They are mentioned in *Śatapatha* and *Sāṅkhāyana Brahmanas, Sūtras* etc

(i) *Ashta Pushpikā* —The worship of these forms with *ashta pushpikā* is also mentioned in inscriptions *The Paśupati Temple Ins of Jayadeva*

1 शिवस्य सायुज्यमवाप्तं वोधात् ८ IA, XVIII, 210 ff

2 साक्षाद् रह्मेण सह सयोगं सायुज्यम् ।……योगपर्यायोऽवगम्यते ।

Pañcharthī Bhāshya, p 131.

3 EHI, II, I, Introduction p 29

4 Vol IV, p 414

5 त्रैलोक्यसौविशिल्पी यस्त्रिवेदीवाक्यसत्कर्त्ति ।

नित्यप्रयत्नवोद्येच्छा सोऽष्टमूर्ति श्रियेऽतु व ॥ IA, XVIII, p 210 f

6 अष्टमूर्तियंमध्यास्ते सिद्धघटकविभु स्वयम् ।

महिमा भूधरस्यात्म V 11, EI, II, p 120

7 *Devapattan Prafasti* of Śridhara EI, II, p 439 V 2 *Paśupati Temple (Nepal) Ins of Jayadeva*, (IA, IX, 178) *Mebon Stale Ins of Rajendra-varmman (Ins of Kambuja*, pp 193 ff) *Sdeok Kak Thom Ins of time of Udayāditya varmman* (loc cit) etc. pp 361 ff

records a royal present of an 'eight-petalled silver lotus to the god so that Eight Forms may be accommodated on its petals.¹ *The Sdok Kak Thom Ins. of Udayāditya-varmman* states that the royal priest used to offer daily an *ashṭa-pushpikā* to *ashṭa-tanu*.² The worship by *ashṭa-pushpikū* is described by Bāṇa in the *Harsha-charita*.³

Inscriptions indicate that this cult of *ashṭa-mūrtti* was specially associated with the Pāśupatas.⁴

B. Pañcha-Brahma :

Śrī-Kanṭha-pañcha-mukha mentioned in the *Cintrā Praśasti* was same as the *pañcha-mukha* form representing *Sadyojāta*, *Tatpurusha*, *Vāmadeva*, *Īśāna* and *Aghora*. It may be noted that the *Pāśupata Sūtras* are divided in five sections each dealing with one of these five forms.

C. Śrī-Kanṭha, Ananta, Lakuliśa and Goraksha :

These seem to be the Śaiva teachers who later on elevated to the position of deities. Śrī-Kanṭha and Ananta are mentioned as *Vidyēśvara*⁵ while Lakuliśa is described as an incarnation of Śiva. Goraksha, as we shall see, was one of the five members of the Pāśupata pentad.

¹ मूर्तीरष्टाभिरष्टौ महयितुमतुलैः स्वैर्द्वैरप्तमूर्तेः । V. 19. IA, IX, p. 178.

² अतन्द्रिताभ्यस्तविचार्यशास्त्रसारसूसमध्यापितवांश्च काले ।

योऽदात्स्वयं प्रत्यहमष्टपुष्पीत्तनूनपातोऽष्टतनोश्च तुष्टये ॥६७॥

Ins. of Kambuja, p. 377.

³ अथ महतः कार्पटिकवृन्दस्य मध्ये प्रातरेव स्नातम् । दत्ताष्टपुष्पिकम्

Harsha-charita (*Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition*), p. 103.

See also.

अवनिपवनवनगगनदहनतपनतुहिनकिरणयजमानमयीमूर्तीरष्टावपि ध्यायन्ती सुचिर-
मष्टपुष्पिकामदात् । *Ibid*, p. 21.

⁴ It is mentioned in the invocation of the Pañchārthika inscriptions.
See fn. 1.

⁵ अनन्तश्च त्रिमूर्तिश्च सूक्ष्मः श्रीकण्ठ एव च । शिवशिख एकनेत्र एकरुद्रश्च ते क्रमात् ॥
Quoted from *Vishṇu Dharmottara Purāṇa* in *EHI*, II, II, Appendix.
Ananta as *Vidyēśvara* is mentioned in the *Tantrāloka*, and Śaiva Siddhānta literature. Thus *Sarvadarsana Samigraha* in the chapter on the Śaiva Darśana quotes :

अनन्तश्चैव सूक्ष्मश्च तथैव च शिवोत्तमः ।

एकनेत्रस्तथैवेकरुद्रश्चापि त्रिमूर्तिकः ॥

श्रीकण्ठश्च शिखण्डी च प्रोक्ता विद्येश्वरा इमे ॥

4 NAMES OF THE PĀSUPATAS

They generally end in 'rāśī'. They are, sometimes, preceded by the titles *bhāra* or *ganda*. Whatever little evidence could be gathered from inscriptions indicates that the Kālānāna ascetics who were perhaps the disciples of Kaurusha and the ascetic of Gārgya school have *rāśī*—ending¹ names while ascetics of *Pranāma* and *Ananta* gotras have the title of *bhāva*.² Ascetics of the Gārgya branch bore the title of *Ganda* which is probably the designation of a pontiff.³

II. KĀPĀLIKA SCHOOL

As is natural, there are few epigraphic references to Kāpālikas. The *Chhatra Chandrasevara* (Nepal) Ins of *Jishnugupta* mentions the Paśupata teachers wearing the garland of skulls.⁴ The *Tilakacūḍā CP* of the time of *Bhoja Paramāra* contains a reference to an ascetic who had taken *mahāratna*.⁵ As we would see, these *mahāratnakas* were identical with Kāpālikas. Kāpālikas are also associated with Śiva Sāsana and Soma Siddhānta.

Early History of the Kāpālikas —The earliest reference to the Kāpālikas occurs in the *Mātrū Upanishad*⁶ which was composed in the post-sūtra period. They are mentioned in the *Purāṇas*,⁷ tantric works, the *Matta tilāsa*,⁸ the *Mālaśi Mādhava*,⁹ the *Karpūra mañjarī*,¹⁰ the *Prabandha*.

¹ The *Citra Prastasi* mentions *Kārttika-rāśī*, *Tapa-rāśī* and *Valmiki rāśī*. Ascetics of *Chāpalija Gotra* in the *Abu* Ins have also *rāśī* ending names—*Vālīkalarāśī*, *Jyestharāśī* and *Kedāra rāśī* and in *Amorehara Temple* Ins they have *Supūjtarāśī*, *Vnekarāśī*. The *Bheraghat* Ins of *Alharadevi* mentions a Paśupata ascetic *Vyomarāśī* of *Lāṭa* lineage. For Kālāmukhas see *Bhandarkar*, p. 171.

² Bhāva Vālmiki belonged to *Pranāma* gotra (EI, XXV, 183) while Bhāva brahma and Bhāva īṣṭi (I A, XVIII, 210 ff) Bhāvarakta and Bhāvodyota (EI, II, pp. 122-23) were ascetics of *Ananta* gotra.

³ The *Citra Prastasi* (EI, I, p. 284).

⁴ मुण्डशूलिक पाशुपताचार्यं पर्पदि (पर्पदि)

⁵ P & T O C, 1919, Poona, 319 ff

⁶ अथ ये चान्ये ह वया वपायकुण्डलिन् वपारिन् । VI, *Mātrājanis Upanishad*

⁷ Śiva Purāṇa, *Vajavijaya Samhitā*, XXIX

⁸ It depicts revelry of an innocent Kāpālika whose *Kapāla* was taken away by a dog.

⁹ Aghoraghanṭa and Kapāla Kundalā are the Kāpālika characters in the play

¹⁰ I, V 23

chandrodaya,¹ the *Chānda-kauśika*² etc. The Śribhāṣya³ of Rāmānuja furnishes interesting facts regarding their religious practices. The *Lalitavistara*⁴ states that the bearing of *kapāla* was regarded as a purificatory act by the heterodox persons.

A. *Mahā-Vrata-Dhara* :

The *Tilakavādā CP.* of the reign of Bhoja 1130 V.S. describes an ascetic Dinakara who was *mahā-vrata-dhara* and was like Śiva in the form⁵ of Kapālin. A grant was sanctioned by Nāgavardhana, the nephew of Pulakeśi II for the worship of god Kapāleśvara and the maintenance of *mahāvratins* attached to the temple.⁶ An inscription from Ramnad Dist. (Madras) of the reign of Vīra Pāṇḍya mentions a monastery of the *mahāvratins*.⁷

Mahāvrata in Literature :—This sect occurs in *Siva Purāṇa*, *Shadarśana-samuchchaya*, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*,⁸ *Yaśastilaka-champu*⁹ and *Nala-champu*.¹⁰

(a) *Identification* :—

(i) *Mahā-Vratins and Kālāmukhas* :—The *Siva-Purāṇa* mentions *mahā-vrata-dharas* in place of the *Kālānanas* and hence R. G. Bhandarkar regards them as identical.¹¹ The *Nala-champu* of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa composed in tenth century A.D. des-

¹ Act III introduces a Kāpālika who holds a debate with a Jain monk and a Buddhist *bhikshu*.

² In the IV act *Dharma* appears in the form of a Kāpālika.

³ Rāmānuja (II. 2-35) and Yāmunāchārya both quote the following verses:—

यथाहुः कापाला:

मुद्रिकार्णट्कतत्वज्ञः परमभुद्राविशारदः । भगासनस्थमात्मानं ध्यात्वा निर्वणमृच्छति ।
कंठिका रुचकं चैव कुण्डलं च शिखामणिः । भस्म यज्ञोपवीतं च मुद्रापट्कं प्रचक्षते ॥

⁴ कपालखट्टवांगधारणैश्च शुद्धिं प्रत्यवगच्छन्ति संमूढाः XVII,

⁵ उदकग्राहकः तत्र महाव्रतधरो मुनिः । दिनकरो नाम यः साक्षात्कपालीव सं (शं) करः ॥

P & T. O. C. 1919, Poona, p. 319.

⁶ *JBBRAS.*, XIV, p. 26. Bhandarkar, p. 168.

⁷ Handiqui: *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 359.

⁸ 5. 2. 81. describes a *mahāvratin* as bearing a *kapāla*.

¹⁰ I. 115.

p. 164..

¹¹ Bhandarkar, p. 168. He is indecisive. See also *supra* p. 4 fn. 1,

cribes Kalāmukhas as falling under the class of the *mohā-vrotikas*¹

(ii) *Mohā Vrotins and Kāpālikas* —But there is overwhelming evidence in favour of their identification with the Kāpālikas. Tho *Tilokaiāda*² CP describes n mahā vratin as Śankara in kapāli form. The above mentioned Chāluhya grant was sanctioned for the shrine of Kapāleśvara and mahā vratika ascetics³ attached to it. Rājaśekhara enumerates the mahā vratī sect along with the Kālāmukha and in place of the Kāpālika school⁴. Jagaddhara in his commentary explains the Kāpālika *trota* as mahā vratī⁵. Kathāśrītāngara⁶ describes a mahā vratika as Kāpālika. *Mallā tilāśo* contains a verse in which n Kāpalikas describes Śiva as undergoing mahā-vrata⁷. Chandapāla explains *mahā trota* in the commentary of the *Nalo-chompū* as *Kāpālika*⁸ *trota*.

Thus, it is certain that the *mohā trotkas* were identical with Kāpalikas. As Kāpalikas were associated in literature with Kalāmukhas because of certain common practices, *Mohā trotkas* were sometimes confused with Kālānandas.

(b) *Vroto and Mohā Vrata* —Gondopharnes is one of those early foreign rulers on whose coins Śiva appears. It is, therefore, significant that on most of the coins he bears the title *deva vrata* where 'deva' is evidently used in the sense of Śiva. Tho *Bhāgorata* mentions ascetics who had taken *bhairo troto* and describes them as wearing bones (skulls) besmeared ashes on body and having matted⁹ hair. Tho description tallies with Kāpalika

¹ वलियुगदिवशामनस्थितिमिव महाव्रतिकान्तं पातिमि पालमुरेवानिरं सकुलामनेवाभिन्नस्तोतस च

p 164.

² महाव्रतधरो मुनि । दिनवरो नाम य साधात्पारीय स (श) पर ॥ P & T O C, Poona, p 319

³ JBBRAS, XIV, p 26

⁴ शैवा पाद्युताशचैव महाव्रतधरास्तथा । तुर्या कालमुखा मुख्या भदा एते तपस्त्विनाम् ॥

p 12

⁵ Bhandarkar, p 183

⁶ 5 2 81

⁷ आस्थाय प्रयता महाव्रतमिद वालेन्द्रचूडामणि स्वामी नो मुमुक्षे पितामहिगिरञ्ज्ञेदौद्भवादेनस । १७

⁸ P 164 *Nirnayasaṅgraha Edition*

⁹ भवव्रतधरा मे च ता समनुवता, पाखण्डनस्ते भवन्तु सच्छास्त्रपरिपथिन । नप्तशीचा मूढधियो जटाभस्मास्तिथारिण विशन्ति शिवदीक्षाया यत्र दैव सुरासवम् ॥ *Bhāgavata*, 8 2

ascetics. The tradition of *vrata*, therefore, may be traced to the beginning of Christian era.

B. Kāpālika and Śivaśāsana :

The *Malkāpuram Ins. of Rudradeva* mentions Śivaśāsana probably in the sense of the Kāpālika.¹ The *Prabodha-chandrodaya* describes the Kāpālika faith as *Pārameśvara-Siddhānta* which seems to be the same as Śivaśāsana initiated by Śrī Kanṭha.² The *Śābara Tantra* mentions Śrī Kanṭha as one of the original twelve āchāryas. This may indicate that it was the original Pāśupata school started by Śrī Kanṭha. The *Varāha Purāṇa* also narrates that the Pāśupata doctrine was originally given to Kāpālikas.³

But Śivaśāsana revealed by Śrī Kanṭha was different from the Kāpālika faith. According to a tradition enshrined in the *Tantrāloka*,⁴ school which maintains unity-in-diversity was started by Śrīnātha the mind-born son of Śrī Kanṭha. This unity-cum-diversity (*bhedābheda*) school is same as the Kāpālika faith. Śrīnathā is mentioned as originator of the Kāpālika school in the *Śābara Tantra*⁵ also while Śrī Kanṭha is regarded only a teacher besides him.

The above discussion would indicate that the Kāpālika school during this period was sometimes identified with Śivaśāsana.

C. Kāpālikas and Śiva :

Saivāgamas quoted by Rao state that the Kāpālikas worship Śiva

¹ उपेयुरां शैवतपोधनानां कालाननानां शिवशासनानाम् ।

विद्यार्थिनां पाशुपतव्रतानामप्यन्नवस्त्रादिसमर्पणाय ॥ *JAHRS, IV*, 145 ff. The four important schools mentioned by Rāmānuja, Yāmunāchārya etc (*supra* p. 3) were four -(i) Śaiva, (ii) Pāśupata, (iii) Kālānana and (iv) Kāpālika. The first three schools are identical with (i) Śaiva ascetics, (ii) Kālānana and (iii) persons having Pāśupata vow-mentioned in the inscription. The remaining Śivaśāsana, therefore, seems to be identical with the Kāpālikas.

² अहो पुण्यं कापालिकचरितमहो श्लाघ्यः सोमसिद्धान्तः ।

प्रविष्टाः स्म पारमेश्वरं सिद्धान्तं । प्रवेशय मां पारमेश्वरीं दीक्षाम् ।

Jayaratha, the commentator of the *Tantrāloka* (I, p. 73) states

पारमेश्वरतन्त्रे “शिवशासने” इति पञ्चस्रोतोरुपे पारमेश्वरदर्शन इत्यर्थः ।

³ *EHI, II, I. Intro.* pp. 1-3.

⁴ *Supra* p. 5.

⁵ Dwivedi : *Nātha Sampradāya*, p. 4.

wearing a garland of bones¹ The *Mahā vrata dharas* mentioned in the Chalukya inscriptions were attached to the Kapaleśvara temple. The Kapaleśvara form of Śiva is mentioned in the *Nirnanda CP* of Śarvavarmman². The *Prabandha chandrodaya*³ describes the worship of *mahā bhairava* by the Kāpālkas.

The terrific aspect of Śiva in the form of *mahā bhairava* was thus worshipped by the Kāpālkas.

Inscriptions do not give any information regarding their religious practices.

III SOMASIDDHĀNTA

This school is mentioned in the *Prabhāsapātana Ins* of Kumārapāla *Val S 4 850=1169 AD*, the *Verārala Ins* of Bhīma II⁵ and the *Chhatra chandeśvara (Nepal) Ins* of Jishnugupta⁶.

This cult seems to be quite influential in ancient times although no literature of this school is available now. It occurs in *tantras* and *Purānas* as quoted by *Īśāna śiva-guru-paddhati*,⁷ *Tantradhikāra nirnaya*,⁸ *Viramitrodaya*⁹ and *Darbana kamikā sangraha*¹⁰. The *Prabandha chandrodaya* also gives some interesting information. The *Bhāshyachandra*¹¹ of Raghūtama

¹ EHI, II, I, Intr p 29

² CII, III, pp 286-91

³ Act, III, V 13

⁴ BI, pp 186-187

⁵ Ibid, p 208 ff

⁶ IA, IX, p 174

⁷ वा (ला) कुल सोमतन्त्र च जगाद परमेश्वर । ISG, III, p 6

⁸ Chakravarti *The Some or Sauma Sect of the Śāshas*, IHQ, VIII, p 220
Tantradhikāra nirnaya (p 2 of Rājarajeśvari Press, Benaras) attributes the following verse to *Vasishtsha* and *Linga-Puranas* -

केचिल्लोकायत भ्रह्मन् वैचित्र सोम महामुने ।

नाकुल वैचिदिच्छन्ति तथा वैचित्र भैरवम् ॥

while it (p 13) quotes from *Sūtasamhita* -

कापाल नाकुल चैव तयोभेदान् द्विजपंभा ।

तथा पाशुपत सोम भैरवप्रमुरागमान् ॥

⁹ *Viramitrodaya* (I, p 22) as quoted from the *Kurma purāna*
वास पाशुपत सोम लागल चैव भैरवम् । न सेव्यमेतत् कथित वेदवाहु तथेतरम् ।

¹⁰ ननु सोम कामात्मवादी । तदपि भारते परमात्मस्तोते तस्मै कामात्मने नम ॥
Quoted by Chakravarti, (IHQ, VIII, p 221)
from a manuscript

¹¹ P 30 (Nirnaya Sagara edition),

and the Akulavīra-tantra¹ of Matsyendranātha make a passing reference to it. Information of exceptional interest, however, comes from the Chinese texts on logic.²

Stories regarding *Soma* of inscriptions and Somaśarmmā of the Purāṇas who are credited with the founding of a Śaiva school at Prabhāsa seem to be the two versions of the same tradition. It may also be noted that Somaśarmmā is described as the preceptor of Akshapāda, the founder of Nyāya system and Kaṇāda the originator of Vaiśeshika system. Thus, he is associated with logic also. The Naya-soma school of logic whose existence is disclosed by the Chinese texts and which was fore-runner of the Akshapāda system might have been named after him. Thus, there is a great possibility of *Soma* being a historical figure who founded a Śaiva school of devotion and a *nyāya* school of thought before Akshapāda who has been placed variously in fourth, third and second century A.D. Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣhaṇa,³ however, places him in 150 A.D. and this seems to be the most plausible date. The *Soma* school, therefore, might have been originated before second century A.D.

1. *Founder of the Cult* :—The *Prabhāsa Pāṭana Ins.* records that *Soma* (moon) had constructed a golden temple of *Somanātha* at Prabhāsa and after originating his cult at the instance of Śiva gave the place to the Pāśupatas.⁴ The *Purāṇas* state that Śiva incarnated himself at Prabhāsa as Somaśarmmā who had four disciples—(i) Akshapāda, the founder of Nyāya school, (ii) Kaṇāda, the founder of Vaiśeshika school, (iii) Ulūka, a teacher of logic sometimes identified with Kaṇāda and (iv) Vatsa.⁵ The

¹ सम्वादयन्ति ये केचिन् न्यायवैशेषिकास्तथा ।

बौद्धस्तु अरिहन्ता ये सोमसिद्धान्तवादिनः ॥७॥ *Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya*, p. 84.

² Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources—XXVIII—XXIX.

³ The Japanese scholar H. Ui places him between fourth and second century A.D. while Prof. L. Suali dates him in C. 300-350 A.D. *History of Indian Logic*, p. 50 fn.

⁴ सोमः सोऽस्तु जयी स्मरांगदहनो यं निर्मलं निर्ममे ।

गौर्या: शापबलेन वै कृतयुगे दृश्यत्वमोपेयुपां ।

प्रादात्पाशुपतार्थसाधुसुविधां यः स्थानमेतत्स्वयं ।

कृत्वा स्वामथ पद्धतिं शशिभूतो देवस्य तस्याज्ञया ॥३॥ *BI*, pp. 186-187.

⁵ सप्तर्विशो यदा व्यासो जातूकण्ठो भविष्यति ।

प्रभासतीर्थमाश्रित्य सोमशर्मा तदाप्यहम् ॥४१॥

तत्रापि मम ते शिष्याः भविष्यन्ति तपस्विनः ।

अक्षपादः कणादश्चोलूको वत्सस्तथैव च ॥४२॥ *Vāyavīya Samhitā*, Ch. V.

Chinese sources disclose the existence of a school in logic called *Na ya su-mo* i.e., *Nayasoma*. Prof Tucci notes influence of this school on the *Gautama Sūtras* as known to the Chinese writers¹. The word *Naya Soma* evidently means 'school of Nyaya associated with Soma'. It is further to be noted that both schools of logic—Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are affiliated with Śaivism.

2 *Kapalika* faith and *Somasiddhānta* —The *Prabandha-chandrodaya* identifies Kāpalikas and Soma Siddhāntins². *Chhatra chandeśvara Ins*³ records them in association with the Kāpalikas. Tantric literature, however, mentions them as two different schools⁴.

3 *Somasiddhānta* in Early Medieval Age —The *Verāvala Ins* of Bhīma II records that the creed propagated by Soma declined in due course and thereafter Viśveśvara rāshi, a partial incarnation of Śiva obtained instructions in dream to revive the doctrine⁵. He, therefore, in the beginning of thirteenth century made vigorous attempts for the propagation of Somasiddhānta.

A Its Prevalence

During this period, Somasiddhānta was prevalent in Nepal and Gujarat.

4 *Somasiddhānta* and 'Chandraśekhara Mūrtti' —The *Verāvala Ins.* of Bhīma II which records the architectural activities of Viśveśvara for reviving the Soma creed, begins with an invocation to Śiva who was as if *rasiyana* for moon⁶. The *Prabodha chandrodaya* states that liberated souls, according to this school, assume the form of *Chandraśekhara* embraced by consorts as beautiful as Pārvatī⁷. It seems that the *Umā sahita chandraśekhara* form was specially worshipped by ascetics of this school.

¹ Tucci, loc cit

² अहो पुष्प वापालिकचर्त्तमहो इलाघ्य सोमसिद्धान्तः । *Third Act*, p. 119
The Kapalika is introduced in the play as—

तत् प्रविचाति कापालिकरूपधारी सोमसिद्धान्तः ।

³ मुण्डशूखलिक पाशुपताचार्यं पर्पदिसोमरड्डुकानाच ।A, IX, 174
"Khadduka occurs on other inscriptions as a name of certain priest of Śiva."

⁴ कपाल नाकुल चैव तयोर्भेदान् द्विजपर्पमा ।
तथा पाशुपत सोम भैरवप्रभुक्षणमान् ॥ *Tantradhikāra nirmaya*, p. 2

⁵ BI, p. 209 10, VV 18 19

⁶ प्रालेयाशुक्पुरसायनमसो श्रेयासि सोमेश्वर । BI, 208

⁷ पार्वत्या . प्रतिरूपया दयितया सानदमालिगितो ।

मुक्त कीडति चन्द्रचूडवपुरित्पूर्वे मृडानीपर्ति ॥१६॥ *Act III*

IV. SIDDHA SCHOOL

The Rewa Ins. of Malayasimha mentions the Siddhas as ascetics and records that Malayasimha was a *Siddhārtha-yogi*.¹ The inscription peculiarly begins with an invocation to Mañjughosha—an originally Buddhist god of learning and extols the worship of Rāma.

“An *avadhūta* by name Śrīmitra flourished in the line of *sambuddha-siddha*” is mentioned in the *Bodha-gayā Ins. of the time of Jayachandra*.² Śrīmitra has been further described “as the initiating preceptor (*dīkshā-guru*) of the king of Kāśī i.e. Jayachandra.”³ It may be recalled here that a *MS.* of *Jayadratha-yāmala* was copied by Jomadeva who was a disciple of the Kulāchārya Śrī-Dharaṇīpāda, the preceptor of the king Jayachandra.⁴

A. Siddha School in Literature :

The *Siddha-siddhānta-saṅgraha*⁵ mentions a Siddha school which is identical with the *avadhūta* and the Nātha sect. The *avadhutas* are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata*. The creed of eighty-four Siddhas had become quite influential from eleventh-twelfth century A.D.

2. PANTHEON

A. Goraksha :

He is one of the most important Siddhas. *The Cinṭā Praśasti of Śāringadeva* mentions him as a member of the Pāśupata pentad. This would indicate the influence of the Siddhas over the Lākuliśa Pāśupata⁶ sect.

¹ सिद्धार्थयोगी मलयानुसिंहः । V. 12. *MASI*, XXIII, pp

² सम्बुद्धसिद्धान्वयधुर्यभूतः श्रीमित्रनामा परमावधूतः ॥४॥ *IHQ. V*, 14 ff,
Sambuddha-siddha’ may be compared with the following verse of the
नमश्चौरंगिनाथाय सिद्धबुद्धाय धीमते ॥१॥ *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati*, p. 48.

³ V. 11.

⁴ Bagchi : *Studies in the Tantras*, p. 114.

महाराजाधिराज श्रीमज्जयचन्द्र-देवपूजितस्य कुलाचार्यं श्री धरणीपादेव नामधेयस्य ।

⁵ The Nātha-Yogi literature always mentions the school as Siddha-school. Thus the *Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati* of Goraksha mentions the *Siddha-mata* at several places (e.g. p.l. v. 3.) The following verse (p. 39) differentiates the *Siddha-mata* from other Śaiva sects :-

शैवाः पाशुपता महात्रतधराः कालामुखा जंगमाः ।

शाक्ताः कौलकुलाः कुलाचनरताः कापालिकाः शाम्भवाः ॥

एते कृत्रिमसंतत्वनिरतास्ते तत्त्वतौ वंचिताः ।

तस्मात्सिद्धमतं स्वभावसमयं धीरः सदा संश्रयेत् ॥

⁶ *EI*, I, p. 284, v. 46.

B. Rāma in the Siddha School:

The Rewa Ins. of Malayasinha, the Siddhārtha-yogi peculiarly states that "the Siddhas go to high heaven, having performed painful austerities, (but) those, who worship at the shrine of Rāma built by him, obtain the Viśvapada (without endeavour)." From literature we learn that the Siddhas were Śiva-Śakti worshippers and hence the building of shrine for Rāma by the Siddhārtha-yogi is rather striking.

C. Rāma in Tāntric and Siddha Literatures:

The *Tantrāloka*¹ mentions Rāma as Śiva, the highest reality. The commentator Jayaratha explains Rāma as the form of Śiva which pervades in the whole universe. *Triśirā-Bhairava* as quoted by Jayaratha enumerates fourteen kinds of Rāma.

Rāma is frequently mentioned in the later Siddha literature.

D. Mañjughosha :

The Buddhist deity is invoked in the beginning of the *Rewa Inscription*. There is some evidence that he was also accepted in the Siddha school as a deity.

V. KAULA SCHOOL

The *Harsha Stone Ins. of the Chāhamāna*² *Vigrahapāla* V.S. 1030 mentions a sect—*Sāṃsārika-kula* which was originated at the village Rāṇapallikā near the Harsha Mt. in Shekhāvati Dist. of Jeypur State in Rājapūtanā. The name of the sect indicates that it was associated with the *Kula* school.

The originator of this branch of the *Kula* school was the ascetic Allaṭa³ or Bhāvarakta who was a disciple of the Pāśupata ascetic Viśvarūpa belonging

¹ तीर्तं तपो दुःखकरं प्रकृत्या सिद्धा व्रजन्तो दिवमूर्छ्वमुच्चैः ।

यद् (यै.) रामदेवालयवाधिः (मञ्चिं) ता ये प्रायेण ते विश्वपदं प्रयाताः ॥२७॥

The line is rather corrupt.

² एप रामो व्यापकोऽत्र शिवः परम-कारणम् ॥४४॥

Commenting upon it, Jayaratha says:-

एप रामः सकलविश्वावभासनपरः क्रीडापरः परमात्मा परमेश्वरः ।

Tantrāloka, I, p. 136.

³ हृपस्यासन्नतोग्रामः. प्रसिद्धो राणपत्लिका ।

सांसारिककुलाम्नायस्ततो यस्य विनिग्रंमः ॥३१॥ *EJ*, II. 116 ff

to the Pañchārthika school of the Pāśupatas.¹ The inscription indicates very close relation between the Pāśupatas and the Kaulas. This is further confirmed by the fact that Goraksha, the disciple of the Kaula preceptor Matsyendra, was recognised in the Pāśupata fold. Further, the tradition of the *Siddhayogīśvarī* school is described to have been continued through Lakuliśa by his disciple Ananta and his disciple Gahaneśa or Gahanādhipa.² (Is he identical with Gahaninātha mentioned as an ascetic in the Siddha school?) It may be noted that Viśvarūpa belonged to the *Ananta gotra*.

VI. KĀLĀNANAS

The Kālānana sect has not been mentioned in inscriptions of Northern India. The sect was, however, very influential in south. It had several important centres under the Chālukyas. Kālāmukha ascetics also served as *rājagurus* of the Chālukya kings.³

VII. THE ŚAIVA SIDDHĀNTA SCHOOL

1. HISTORY

A. *The Founder: Guhāvāsi* :—The *Gurgi Ins.* of *Prabodha-śiva* C. 973 A.D. records that the faultless *Saiva-siddhānta* doctrine was preached by the ascetic who was head of the line to which *Prabodha-śiva* belonged.⁴ The *Ranod Ins.* of *Vyomaśiva* further describes that this line of ascetics came into existence as a blessing from Śiva to Brahmā who performed a

¹ पंचार्थलाकुलाम्नाये विश्वरूपोऽभवद्गुरुः ॥२८॥
दीक्षाजातमलध्वंस—विस्फुरज्ञाननिर्मलः ।
प्रशस्ताख्यो भवच्छिष्यस्तस्य पाशुपतः कृती ॥२९॥
भावरक्तोऽभवत्स्य शिष्यो द्विनामतोऽल्लटः ॥३०॥ *Ibid.*

² यदागमः
भैरवाङ्गैरवीं प्राप्तं सिद्धयोगीश्वरीमतम् ।
ततः स्वच्छत्तदेवेन स्वच्छन्दाल्लाकुलेन तु ॥
लकुलीशादनन्तेन अनन्ताद्गाहनाधिपम् । *Tantrāloka*, XII, p. 383.

³ *Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 167, see also Haṇḍiqui : *Yaśastilaka-champū and Indian Culture*, pp. 348 ff.
EI, XXIII, p. 161 ff.

⁴ पूर्वे यत्रावतीर्थं विरतनियतमनोभवत्तापसेन्द्रः ।
शिष्यानामाशशंसुः शिवमतमतनुव्यस्तनिः शेषदोषम् ॥४॥

sacrifice at *Dāruvana*¹ Head of the line was *Guhārāśī* as mentioned in several inscriptions Thus, these inscriptions mention *Guhārāśī* of *Daruvana* as the preacher of Śaiva siddhānta doctrine

The association of *Guhārāśī* with *Dāruvana* is mentioned in the *Purāṇas* and inscriptions The *Skanda Purāṇa*² describes the holy place of *Dāruvana* where Śiva incarnated himself as *Guhārāśī* and allured the wives of ascetics in the *Bhikshā nata* form The story occurs in the *Linga purāṇa*³ also The *Halāyudha stotra*⁴ as inscribed in the Amareśvara temple before 1120 V S also refers to the incarnation of Śiva at Daruvana as a beggar (*bhikshā nata*)

It may further be noted that one of the twenty eight incarnations of Śiva mentioned in *Linga Vāyu* and *Kurma-purāṇas* was *Guhārāśī*⁵ In *Bhikshā nata* form *Guhārāśī* is represented in sculptures

Guhārāśī who promulgated the doctrine of Śaiva siddhānta school seems to have been held as an incarnation of Śiva like Lakulīśa the originator of the *Lakulīśa Pāsupata* doctrine

(i) *The tradition of Durvāsā-Amarddaka as originator* —The *Tantrāloka*⁶ records the tradition that this dualist Śaiva school was started by

¹ भक्त्योपसम स्थिरभवितगम्य पद्मासन दाश्वनेति रम्ये ।

विधाय यज्ञ विधिना विधिज्ञ विलानुजग्राह पुरा पुरारि ॥६॥

यच्छत्कलम्बिपुलनिवृत्तियोजमुच्चं पूर्वोत्तर विपुलर्दितभूरिण्यास ।

तस्मादपूर्वं उद्भूत्नुनिवश एव निर्गन्धिरन्तरितसारतरोस्तरन्ध ॥७॥

तस्मिन्मुनि सवल्लोक्य नमस्मूर्तिर्लिङ्गपम प्रतिदिन समुदीयमान ।

श्रीमानभूदभुवि वदम्ब (म्ब) गुहाधिवासी ॥८॥ EI, I, pp 354 ff

² ततो गच्छेच्च राजेद्र गुहावासीति चोत्तमम् ।

यद्य सिद्धो महादेवो गुहावासीति शब्दर ॥

युधिष्ठिर उवाच

कैन कायेण विप्रेन्द्र गुहावासीति शब्दर ।

³ पूर्वं दाश्वने विप्रा वसन्ति च मुरेस्तामा

⁴ दाश्वाने द्विजवरवधूपलब्दो रेतसाम्नी

होम सन्ध्यानटनमिति ते चेष्टित तंव दुष्टम् ॥३४॥

EI, XXV, p 175

⁵ गोकणं गुहावासी शिखण्डी चापर स्मृत ।

⁶ तानि बलिवालुप्यात् उपदेष्ट ऋनपरम्परान्तर्धानवशात् विच्छिन्नसचाराणि व्यनश्यन् ।

इत्य व्युच्छेते शिवशासने बदाचित् कैलासगिरी परिभ्रमन श्रीकण्ठ मूर्ति शिवो विच्छिन्नस्य निखिलशैवशास्त्रोपनिपत्सारभूतस्य पठयेत्रक्षमविज्ञानस्य प्रचारार्थं दुवासिस मुनिमाजिज्ञापत् । स मुनि मानसान् सिद्धान् श्रयम्बक-आमर्दंक श्रीनाथास्यान् अड्य-द्वय द्वयाद्वयमतव्यास्यान् मठिकासु सत्सम्प्रदायमार्गं प्रचारयितु न्युक्त ।

Amarddaka. The Śaiva schools of philosophy disappeared because of Kali age. Śiva, therefore, took pity on men engrossed in spiritual darkness and commanded Durvāsā to preach the doctrine. The sage, thereupon, created three mind-born sons—*Tryambaka*, *Āmarddaka* and *Srīnatha* who respectively promulgated the Non-dualist (*Trik*), Dualist (*Śaiva*) and Dualist-non-dualist schools (*māṭha*) of philosophy.

This tradition recurs in many *tāntric* works where Durvāsā is represented as the founder of the *Āmarddaka-māṭha*.¹

(ii) *Durvāsā Line and Āmarddaka-māṭha* :—*The Malkapuram² Ins. of Rudradeva* describes Viśveśvara-śambhu as belonging to the line of Durvāsā through Sadbhāva-śambhu of Dāhala region. Sadbhāva-śambhu, however, belonged to the line of Guhāvāsi. It is strange that no person by name Durvāsā recorded to have flourished in this line from Guhāvāsi to Viśveśvara-śambhu and yet the line was named after Durvāsā.

Tāntric works as mentioned above allude to the tradition that the *Āmarddaka-māṭha* was founded by Durvāsā.

Tantrāloka also describes the founding of the non-dualist school (*māṭha*) by Āmarddaka at the instance of Durvāsā. In the Guhāvāsi line three main branches sprung forth—(a) *Āmarddaka-māṭha*, (b) *Mattamayūra* and (c) *Mādhumateya* respectively founded by *Āmarddaka-tīrthanātha*, Rudra-śambhu, *Mattamayura-nātha* Purandara and Pavanaśiva. This *Āmarddaka* branch (*māṭha*) is mentioned in the Rāshtrakuta³ and Prathiāra⁴ inscriptions. Visveśvara-śambhu⁵ also belonged to this branch founded by Rudra-śambhu at the instance of Durvāsā (as noted by *Tantrāloka*) and this is the only explanation for describing him as belonging to the line of Durvāsā.

Thus, the joint evidence of inscriptions and literature would prove that Guhāvāsi originated the dualist Saiva school of philosophy which was systematised and spread by *Āmarddakatirtha-nātha* or Rudra-śambhu.

¹ *Hultzsch, Report on Skt. MSS.*, II, Intr. p. XVI ff. *Cat. Catalo.* I. p. 257; II. p. 55 etc.

² अस्ति विश्वम्भरासारः कमलाकुलमन्दिरम् ।
भागीरथी नर्मदयोम्यर्धं डहलमण्डलम् ॥
नीत्वा कालमनन्तमन्तकज्यी सद्भावशम्भुःगुरु
दुर्वासोन्वय सम्भवस्सुचरितः

JAHRS, IV, pp. 147 ff.

³ *EI*, III, 263-267., *EI*, IV, 286.

⁴ श्रीमदामर्द्दकसन्तानीय श्रीशिवदेवाचार्यसुतश्रीमहेश्वराचार्याय

Haddal Grant of the time of Mahipāla Pratihāra, IA, XII, p. 193ff.

⁵ *JAHRS*, IV, 147 ff.

(iii) *Dates of Rudra Śambhu and Guhāvāsi* —The Chandrake Ins of Prabodha śiva is dated in K S 724=973 A D Prabodha śiva is twelfth from Guhāvāsi and hence taking twenty five years for one generation Guhāvāsi may be placed in c 675 A D and Rudra-śambhu in c 775 A D

B *Diffusion and spread of the Sect* —The sect spread from the Punjab in the north to Tamil region in the south and influenced several kings of this period

(a) *Āmarādaka matha and Durvāsā Line* —Rudra śambhu or Āmarādaka tīrthanātha founded the matha whose disciples (*santāna*) spread in the Rājputana, Karahat and Karnātaka. *The Rajore Ins*¹ of Mathanadera of the time Viṇāyakapāla Pratihāra V S 1016=959 A D mentions Omkāra śiva, Rūpaśiva and Śrīkanṭha as the āchāryas of the Āmarādaka-matha belonging to the *Sopariya* line. Another line termed *Karanyakhetā* *santati* is found in the Karahāṭa area. *The Karhad CP of Krishna III S* 880 records a grant to Ganganaśiva, a great ascetic versed in the whole Śivasiddhānta (philosophy), the pupil of Isanaśiva head, of Valkalēśvara matha². This ascetic Gaganaśiva was the spiritual teacher of the Alūpa king Dattal-pendra Srimāra as known from the *Mudukāri (Somēśvara Temple)* Inscription³. Hero he has been described as belonging to the line of Durvāsā.

C *Golakī matha* —Sadhāraṇa Śamhhu same as Prabhava śiva in the line of the Āmarādaka tīrtha nātha established the tradition of the Golaki Maṭha. The tradition flourished in the Telgu and Tamil area.

(a) *Telgu Region —The Pushpagiri⁴ (Kurnool District) Ins* mentions Golaki Maṭha. The four Tripurantaka⁵ (Kurnool Dist.) Inscriptions mention Santa śiva, Dharmashaśvī, Vimala śiva and Viśveśvara śiva of

¹ श्रीमदामद्वक् विनिर्गतं श्रीसोपुरीपसतत्पा श्रीछत्रशिव.....

श्रीश्रीकण्ठचार्यशिष्य श्रीरूपशिवाचार्यस्तच्छिष्य श्रीमदोक्तारशिवाचार्यस्यास्त्वलित
ब्रह्मचर्यवाप्त महिन्द्र इत्यादि १३-१५

EI, III, 263 267.

² करहाटीयवल्लेश्वरस्थानपति करजसेटसन्तति विनिर्गतेशानशिवाचार्यशिष्याय
महातपस्विने सकलशिवसिद्धान्तपारगाय गगनशिवाय इत्यादि ६०-६१

EI, IV, 286

³ The inscription is in Kannada. The relevant portion runs as follows -
श्रीमतु दुर्वाससमुनीन्द्रवशतिलक य सन्तति सजातरप्य श्रीमद्गग्नशिवाचार्यस्यो
दत्तालपेन्द्र श्रीमार भोहुम इत्यादि

SII, VII, No 134, p 165

⁴ 323 of 1905

⁵ 195, 223, 273, and 323 of 1905

the Golakī Maṭha. *The Alugurajupalle¹ (Palnad Talukā, Guntur Dist.) Stone Ins. of the Kākātiya king Ganapati Deva* also refers to a Golakī monastery.

(b) *Tamil Region* :—Inscriptions of Jatāvarmman Tribhuvana Chakravartin Vīra Pandya Deva contain references to Puragali Perumala belonging to the line of Jnānāmṛtāchārya of Hilāhi² (Golakī maṭha) and Aghoradeva of Jnānāmṛtāchārya-santāna of Golakī Maṭha.³ A late inscription describes the head of a maṭha as Pāṇḍi-maudalādhipati alias Lakshādhyāyi-santāna of the Golakī Maṭha.⁴ The Krishṇa Golakī Maṭha is mentioned in the *Tinivarur (Tanjore dist.) Inscription*.⁵

The Malkapuram Ins. of the Kākātiya Rudradeva S. 1183. however, is of outstanding importance. Viśvesvara-śambhu the founder of the Viśveśvara-golakī maṭha was the spiritual father of the King Gaṇapati (1213-1249 A.D.) of Warangale. The inscription describes in detail the philanthropic activities of the *Golakī Maṭha*.⁶

D. *Mattamayūra Lineage* :—The fifth ascetic in the line was Purandara who initiated the prince Avantivarmman in the faith. The king dedicated his kingdom to his spiritual preceptor as an honorarium where the ascetic founded a monastery at *Mattamayūra*⁷ town.

(a) *The Monastery of Mattamayūra* :—Prof. Miśashi has identified⁸ mattamayūra town with Kadawahā as it “possesses remains of a Hindu monastery” and because “it is not far from Terahi, Ranod and Mahua”. The identification, however, is not plausible.

Inscriptions clearly indicate that Mattamayūra town or the kingdom of Avantivarmman was far away from the place where Purandara was

¹ 289 of 1930-31.

² 359 of 1916.

³ 362 of 1916.

⁴ 213 of 1924.

⁵ *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1910 p. 97. Iṣaṇaśiva, Pāṇḍitanattu Panditamandalādhipati alias Lakshādhyayisantāna finds mention in Tinumalainādu of S. S. 1452 1530—1 A.D. (193 of 1924) *Ep. Rep. of the S. Circle* for 1924, p. 114.

⁶ *JAHRS*, IV. p. 147 ff.

⁷ *EI*, I, p. 259, V. 49; see also p. 355 vv. 11-13.

⁸ *IHQ*, 1950, p. 9.

performing his austerities and, therefore, the place should not be located in Malavā¹

Inscriptions further indicate that the town of Mattamayūra was in the kingdom of Avantivarman who must have flourished in the beginning of ninth century A D History is unaware of any prince of this name in ninth century A D Kielhorn identifies him with Avanivarman of the Chālukya dynasty without any cogent reason Mirashi on the basis of the *Maser Inscription* regards him to be a predecessor of Avanivarman This view, however, involves many difficulties²

¹ The verse in the inscription is -

वन्द्य कोपि चकास्त्यचिन्त्यमहिमा तुल्य मुनिर्भास्त्वता
राजनुतम शब्द (द्व) पूर्वंशिखराम्यर्णम्प्रकीर्णद्युति ।
दीक्षार्थीति धचो निशम्य सुकृतीचारोक्तमुर्वीपति
यंस्येहननयनाय यत्नमकरोच्छीमानवन्ति पुरा ॥

I shall like to translate it as follows -

"Oh King there is an ascetic of unimaginable splendour, shining like Sun whose fame has spread to far off *Uttama Likhara*"—hearing the words the king illustrious Avanti (Varman) tried to bring the ascetic. This would suggest that the king Avanti got the information of this famous ascetic from a spy and then tried to bring him in his territory

² The genealogy of the Chālukya kings has been constructed by Mirashi as follows -

Avantivarman	A D	825
Avanivarman	A D	850
Sadhanva	A D	875
Simhavarman	A D	900
Narasimha	A D	950
Keśarin	A D	975

The history of the dynasty is given in the *Bihari Ins* (*EI*, I, p 2)58 is as follows -

अभवदनयनिवर्म्मि विश्वविस्यातकर्मा ॥३४॥

पितामहो यत्कलु सिहवर्म्मि पिता यद्वीरवरस्सपन्व ॥३५॥

Thus, Avanivarman was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman while in Mirashi's table he is shown as grandfather of Simhavarman and father of Sadhanva Thus, Sadhanva was the father and not Avantivarman as shown by the learned scholar Secondly, there is no evidence whatsoever to maintain that Avantivarman belonged to the dynasty of the Chālukyas or Sulkis.

The *Mahābhārata*¹ locates the *Mattamayūras* in the Punjab near Rohtak. It is interesting to note that in seventh-eighth century A.D. a varmman dynasty was ruling in this area. The *Lakkha Mandala Prasasti* of the Queen *Isvarā*² of Jālandhara who belonged to the Varmman dynasty of Simhapura was inscribed by Isvaranāga of Rohtak. Buhler identifies Simhapura with *Seng-ho-pulo* of Huen Tsiang located near Salt Range in the Punjab.³ I would, therefore, like to identify the town *Mattamayūra* in the Punjab in the kingdom of these Varmmans. Avantivarmman might have belonged to this Varmman line.

The Mattamayūra and Raṇipadra monasteries sent forth their branches to Mālavā, Karkaroni in Deccan and several places in the modern Madhya Pradesh.

(i) *The Mālavā Branch* :—*The Prāyaśchitta-samuchchaya*⁴ mentions an ascetic Lambakarṇa of Ranipatra monastery who was the spiritual teacher of the king Siyaka of Mālavā. He has been described as one who heard the whole of the Śaiva-siddhānta philosophy and was like a Śiva on Kailāśa. The *Purānas*⁵ mention Lambakarṇa as a *bhairava* at Avanti. The ascetic Lambakarṇa described as Śiva might have been regarded as Bhairava. The line of Lambakarṇa, continued through Isvara-śiva whose disciple Hṛidayā-śiva composed the *Prāyaśchitta samuchchaya*.

¹ *Sabhāparva*. XXXII

² *EI*, I, p. 8.

³ *Siyuki*, I, pp. 43-44.

⁴ *ISC*, II, *Preface*, p. 1.

मत्तमयूरवंशजे श्रीरणिपत्रलम्बकर्णं इति नाम प्रथितः पृथिव्यां मुनिः ।

निखिलशैवसिद्धान्तश्रोत्रसंस्कारपावनः ।

चन्द्रांकितजटाजूटः कैलासस्येव शंकरः ॥

श्रीरणिपत्रकाश्रमाद् गोरठिकामठे गमात् ॥१॥

धारायां सी (स्वी) यकमिति अनुजग्राह पार्थिवः ॥

आसीत् ततो सन्ततौ मुनिः श्री ईश्वर इति ।

जगतीपतिभिर्नृपैः पूजितपादपंकजः ॥

Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Select Palm-Leaf in Durbar Library, p. 215.

⁵ अवन्तौ च महादेवी लम्बकर्णस्तु भैरवः ॥८८॥

(ii) *The Deccan Branch* —The donee in the *Kharepatan¹* CP of *Rattarāja S 930* is Ambhoja śambhu He flourished in a series of pontiffs of the Karkaromī branch of the Mattamayūra line The *Nāmittikā kriyānu sandhana²* was composed by Brāhma śambhu of this Karkaromī branch in S 960

(iii) *The Kadicaha Branch* —The Kadwaha Ins of the Chanderī-Pratihara dynasty informs us of Dharmśiva belonging to Rāmipadra monastery who was the spiritual teacher of Harirāja Pratihara (c 10th century AD) Another inscription from the same place associates Iṣvaraśiva with a king Bhīma Bhūpa

Thus, the ascetics of this branch spread from the Punjab (Salt Range) to Deccan They wielded considerable influence in Central India Kings of Varmman dynasty of the Punjab, of Chanderī Pratihāra and Paramāra dynasties in Central India were their spiritual disciples

E Mādhumateya Line —The Mādhumateya monastery was founded by Pavana śiva which sent its branches to Gurj, Chandrehe, Bilharī and elsewhere Prabhāva śiva to be identified with Sadhbhāva śiva was held in veneration by the Kalachuri king Yuvarajadeva I and Lakshmanaraja The inscription describes the footstool of the ascetic "as being worshipped by the accumulation of the lustre of jewels in the crest of several kings" He was approached by the King of Kuntala

Another line of Prabhāva śiva ran through Somaśambhu whose disciple Vāmaśambhu initiated a line of the rājagurus of the Kalachuri kings which continued to the end of the Kalachuri dynasty in Dahala

The Rājagurus of Kalachuri Kings —The *Malkāpuram Ins of the Kakātiya king Rudradēva* states that Yuvarajadeva gave three lakhs of

¹ श्रीमत्तमयूरान्वयान्तर्गतकर्कोणिसन्तान-गुरुश्यामायात सिद्धान्ततत्त्वादिहृतमोहान्धतम-सामातपोमहिमप्रधवस्ताशेषसगाना प्रवो (वा) प्रप्रदीपप्रकाशितस्वर्गपर्वगमार्गाणा समाधिजलव्य (व्य) त्रिभुवनवीर्तना श्रीमद्भोजशम्भुगुरुणा इत्यादि २-५५

² ISG, II, Preface, p 1

³ Gwalior Arch Rep V S 1998, No 6

Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha, No 627, p 85

See also Bhandarkar's List, No 2107 for another inscription of the same dynasty

⁴ Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha, p 85, No 628

⁵ ते निवसति चनवासे कुन्तलो.....मुनि.

villages in *Dāhala mandala* to Sadbhāva-śambhu who with this princely donation founded a monastery known as Golakī Maṭha.¹ The evidence from Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions indicates that Sadbhāva-śambhu was identical with Prabhāva-śiva the disciple of Madhūmateya Chūḍāśiva.² He was succeeded by Somaśambhu and after him came Vāmaśambhu “whose feet were embellished by the row of crowns of kings and are even now meditated upon by the Kalachuri kings”.³ The statement finds striking epigraphic corroboration as no less than seven kings—Lakshmīkarṇa, Yaśahkarna, Narasimha, Jayasimha, Vijayasimha, Śankaragana and Trailokyavarmmadeva Chandella king who supplanted the Kalachuri dynasty are styled as “meditating upon the feet of Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājadhīraja Parameśvara illustrious Vāmadeva”.⁴ The reason for mentioning the ascetic in this way is known from the commentary by Jonarāja on the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*.⁵ He states that the Kalachuri king

¹ नीत्वा कालमनन्तकजयी सद्भावशम्भोगरुद्दर्वासोन्वय संभवस्युचरितः प्रावृद्धपुण्डे:
नृपाणाम् ।

शैवानां प्रथमाय शंकरपदध्यानामृताम्भोनिविकीडाम्बेडनकर्म निर्मलतरस्वान्ताय
शान्तात्मने ।

तस्मै निस्पृहचेतसे कलचुरिक्षमापालचूडामणिग्रन्थाणां युवराजदेव नृपतिभिक्षा
न्त्रिलक्ष्मीं ददी ॥

JAHRS, IV, p. 157.

² The *Chandrehe Ins. of Prabodhasiva* mentions that Prabhāva-śiva made to accept the earth sanctified by the touch of his feet by Yuvarājadeva” Again the *Gurgi Ins. of Prabodhasiva* (*EI*, XXII, p. 133) records the same fact that Yavarājadeva made Prabhāvasiva to accept a monastery constructed at an enormous cost”. Thus, there cannot be any reasonable doubt in the identity of Sadhāva-Sambhu and Prabhāva-siva.

³ अथ नृपशेखरमालालालितपादोत्तरवामशम्भुरभूत् ।

अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधकाः प्रशस्यन्ते ॥

- ⁴ (a) *Banaras CP. of Lakshmīkarṇja K.S. EI*, II, pp. 305 ff.
- (b) *Khairha CP. of Yaśahkarna, EI*, XII, pp. 210 ff.
- (c) *Lal Pahad Ins. of Narasimhadeva, IA, XVIII*, pp. 215 ff.
- (d) *Rewa CP. of the time of Jayasimha, IA, XVII*, pp. 246 ff.
- (e) *Kumbhi CP. of Vijayasimhadeva, EI*, XXXI, p. 116.
- (f) *Sagar Ins. of Śankaragana, EI*, XXVI.
- (g) *Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalladeva, EI*, XXV, I. ff.

⁵ सुहसिकस्तपस्विने वामदेवनाम्ने निजराजलक्ष्मीं गुरुदक्षिणायै दत्त्वा सर्वा भूमि जेतुं
प्रस्थितवान् ॥

Prithvirāja Vijaya, p. 174.

Sāhasika after dedicating his empire to his spiritual preceptor Vāmadeva, proceeded to conquer the whole earth. The king Sāhasika is most probably the king Yuvarājadeva II as shown elsewhere. Since his reign, there is a continued line of the *rājagurus* in succession running from Vāmaśambhu. Vimalaśiva and his disciple¹ Vāstuśiva were probably the spiritual teachers of Kokalla II and his son Gāngeyadeva. The name of the preceptor of Lakshmikarna is lost. Purushinśiva was "the prosperity of Yaśahkarna" and Śaktiśiva was "the real power of the king Gayakarna". His disciple Kirttiśiva was probably the preceptor of Narasimha while Vimalaśiva described in the *Jubilepur Keticali Ins* of Jayasimha as 'the illustrious *rājapuru*' was "showing great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs". His disciple Dharmasīva perhaps migrated to south where his disciple Viśeśvara śambhu, worshipped by the kings of Mālavā and Chola countries initiated the Kākātiyān king Ganapati in Saivism.

Sāntaśiva and Nādaśiva were also the disciples of Vimalaśiva as mentioned in the *Reca CP* of *Trailokyavarmmadatta*.² Nādaśiva executed a deed of mortgage on behalf of Sāntaśiva in which the village Allorā was pledged to Rānaka Dhārekha in Saivism.

This would indicate that after the fall of the Kalachuri dynasty, these ascetics had fallen on evil days and, therefore, they migrated to different places.

Thus, the line of *rājagurus* started from Vāmaśambhu in the time of Yuvarājadeva II (c 975 A.D.) continued for more than two hundred and fifty years and ultimately came to an end in c 1225 A.D. when the dynasty was supplanted by the Chandella ruler *Trailokyavarmmadeva*.

I The Rajagurus of the Chola Kings — It is supposed that there was a succession of the *rājagurus* throughout the Chola rule³ also. Iśānaśiva and Śarvaśiva are mentioned in inscriptions of Rājarāja I (985-1014) and Rajendra Chola (1012-1044). There is epigraphic evidence to show their considerable influence in the Chola court during Kulottunga I (1070-1120 A.D.) and Kulottunga III (1182-1216 A.D.).

¹ See Appendix A

² It is noteworthy that Sāntaśambhu is mentioned as the incarnation of Durvāsā, *EI*, XXV, p 1 ff

³ *Cholas*, II, p 484.

The line of Isāna-śiva-guru is mentioned in the *Karma-kriyā-kānda*¹ and the *Paddhati* composed by Somaśambhu. Isāna (śiva) was succeeded by Vimala-śiva whose disciple Sarva-śiva is mentioned in inscriptions. It is stated that Rajendra I was supplying a large quantity of grains as āchāryabhoga to Sarva-śiva and his disciples in the Āryadeśa, Madhyadeśa and Gaudadeśa. His disciple Somaśambhu composed several Saiva works.

Siddhānta-sārāvali of Trilochanaśivāchārya records a tradition that Rajendra Chola saw the best of the śaivas in Northern India when he came to take a bath in the Gangā and carried them to settle in his own country in Kānchi and elsewhere in the Chola land². Viśveśvara-śiva of the *Malkapuram Ins.* of the king Rudradeva was an inhabitant of Gaudadeśa and belonged to the Golakī Maṭha of Dāhala region who established a monastery at Mysore³. South Indian inscriptions mention some ascetics of the line of *Bhikshā-maṭha* and *Kollamaṭha*⁴ at Vāraṇasī. This would indicate that the ascetics of Śaiva-siddhānta school migrated from north to south during this period.

G. *Ascetics in Vāraṇasī* :—The *Gurgi Ins.* of Prabodhaśiva records that the ascetic Prabodhaśiva built an abode at Vāraṇasī⁵. Disciple of

¹ श्रीशाननामा शिवतुल्यधामा तस्याथ शिष्यो विमलेशनामा ।

तस्यापि शिष्योस्ति शिव (शर्व) शिशवात्मा शिष्यो भवद्यस्य च सोमशम्भुः ॥४॥

In the manuscript of *Karmmakriyākāṇḍa* (Cat. of Palm Leaf & Sel. Paper Man. in Nepal : H. P. Sastri, p. 45) Śrīśāna is mentioned as Śrigona. This Somaśambhu is different from Somaśambhu of the *Malkapuram Ins.* of Rudradeva. *Śaivabhūṣhanā Grantha* mentions one Somaśambhu who wrote a *paddhati*.

उग्रोत्तरज्योतिरथो स सद्यश्वीरामकण्ठोपि च वैद्यकण्ठः ।

नारायणव्चापि विभूतिकण्ठः श्रीनीलकण्ठावपि सोमशम्भुः ॥

² राजेन्द्रचोल इत्याख्यः चोलभूपो महीं वसन् ।

गंगास्नानार्थमागत्य दृष्ट्वा शैवान्वरान्तदा ॥

स्नात्वा प्रतिनिवृत्तस्सन् तान् समादाय शैवकान् ।

स्वराज्ये स्थापयामास शैवाचार्यवरांस्तदा ।

कांचीमध्ये चौलभूमौ सर्वत्रैव प्रविस्तराः ॥

ASI. AR, 1911-12, p. 176.

³ JAHRS, IV, p.

⁴ Cholas, pt. II, p. 485.

⁵ MASI, XXIII, 122 ff, V. 14.

Kumāraśiva the *guru* of Mūlarāja Solanki belonging to this faith had composed a *Pratishṭhā* work in 1090 A.D.¹ at Banaras. (The manuscript of the work is reported to be in *ASB*). A Chola inscription mentions Jñānaśiva of the *Lakṣhādyāya-santāna* of the *Kollā-maṭha* at Vārāṇasi².

2. LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF THESE ASCETICS

Inscriptions describe the literary activities of these ascetics. Vyomaśiva of the Ranod monastery seems to be a reputed scholar of outstanding importance. Inscription from Ranod mentions the composition of a work known after him³.

*The Gwalior Ins.*⁴ further gives us information that he, by his commentary, expounded the true nature of the real *padārtha* (a category of the Vaisheshika system) and also the unreal gross ignorance even as the Sun by his light reveals existing objects and dispels pitchy darkness. This commentary on the Vaisheshika work is no other than the *Vyomavati-sikā* of Vyomaśiva on the *Praśastapāda-bhāshya*. The celebrated author Udayana mentions him with respect in his *Kirāṇavati*. He has also been quoted by Guṇaratna, Rājaśokhara and Vardhamāna⁵.

Īśāna-śiva-guru-paddhati⁶ a voluminous work has been ascribed to Īśānaśiva, the *rājaguru* of Rājendra Chola. The *Prāyaschitta-samuchchaya*, the *Naimittika-kriyānusandhāna* and the *Pratishṭhā-darpaṇa* were composed by Hṛidayaśiva of the Gorāthikā Maṭha at Dhārā⁷, Brahmaśambhu of the Karkaroni branch⁸ and Vairochana, the disciple⁹ of īśāna-

¹ *ISG*, Pt. II, *Intr.*

² *Cholas*, pt. II, 485.

³ इलाघृणं जन्म जगत्वयेषि दघतः शेषस्य तस्य कथा
मस्य व्योमपदादिमन्त्रचनाल्याताभिधानस्य च

V. 23. *EI*, I, P. 254 ff.

⁴ मुनिसूर्येण निरस्तं टीकालोकेन येन लोकस्य ।
प्रकटयते ह पदार्थं सन्तमसञ्च सन्तमसम् ॥

The verse has been quoted by Prof. Mirashi (*IHQ*, 1950, p. 16).

See also "Vyomaśiva the Author of *Vyomavati*" by Dasarath Sharma (*IHQ*, X, p. 165).

⁵ *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 32 aun.

⁶ *A Study on Vāstuvidyā*, preface, p. ii.

⁷ *ISG*, II, preface p. 1

⁸ *Ibid.*, Part II, preface.

⁹ *Ibid.*

śiva respectively. *The Malkapuram¹* Ins. of Rudradeva mentions the writing of the *Somaśambhu-paddhati* by Somaśambhu, the predecessor of Vāmaśambhu which is not available. The available *Somaśambhu-paddhati²* was composed in 1153 V.S.=1095 A.D. by another Somaśambhu who flourished in the line of Īśānaśiva.

3. PHILOSOPHY

We have already seen that the Vaiśeshikas were Śaivas while the Naiyāyikas belonged to the Pāśupata school. Literature discloses the existence of the *Siddhānta-Vaiseshika* branch of the Vaiśeshika school.

A. *Siddhānta-Vaiseshikas* :—*Apta-parīkshā* (9th Century A.D.) and *Yaśastilaka³* (c. 966 A.D.) mention two sections of *Vaiśeshikas* :—

- (a) The *Siddhānta-Vaiseshikas* and
- (b) The *tārkika-Vaiseshikas*.

The difference between these two sections of Vaiśeshika philosophers are mainly four :—

- (i) *Siddhānta-Vaiseshikas* were theist. They believe in the existence of Maheśvara-Siva and also in the categories recognised in the Vaiśeshika system while *Tārkika-Vaiseshikas* were atheist⁴.
- (ii) According to *Siddhāntikas* salvation can be obtained by faith in Śiva characterised by initiation into Śaiva cult. while

¹ नाम्ना निजेन सकलागमसिन्धुसेतुं यः पद्वर्ति करुणया प्रतिमां ब्रवन्ध ।

LL. 65-66.

JAHRS, IV, p. 157.

² श्रीविक्रमाख्यनृपकालसमुद्भवेषु

पञ्चाशता त्रिसहितेषु शरच्छतेषु ।

एकादशस्वमलशास्त्रमिदं समाप्तं

गूढस्य देशिकमतस्य सहस्रयुगम् ॥७॥

Somaśambhu-paddhati, p. 1.

³ Vol. II, p. 269. *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, p. 184.

⁴ यथैव हि महेश्वरस्य स्वरूपतः सत्वं वृद्धवैशेषिकैरिष्यते तथा पृथिव्यादिद्रव्याणां रूपादिगुणानामुत्क्षेपणादिकर्मणां सामान्यविशेषसमवायानां च प्रागभावादीनाम-पीष्यत एव

Apta-parīkshā v.v. 59-67.

Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p. 218.

Tārkikas maintain that it results from the knowledge of categories¹

- (iii) *Tārkikas* hold that the salvation consists in the complete cessation of ignorance pain due to the extirpation of attributes of soul while *Siddhāntikas* maintain that it brings blissful consciousness besides the annihilation of ignorance pain²
- (iv) Vyomaśiva regards verbal testimony (*śabda*) also as a valid source of knowledge in addition to inference and perception but the orthodox section does not recognise *śabda* as independent source of knowledge³

On the basis of inscriptions it may be demonstrated that these *Siddhānta Vaisheshikas* were the followers of Śaiva siddhānta school and that these differences from the orthodox section arose from the acceptance of devotional doctrine as laid down in the āgamas by the Śaiva siddhānta school.

B *Inscriptions and Siddhānta Vaisheshikas* — These characteristic principles of *Siddhānta Vaisheshikas* are obtained in inscriptions set up by Śaiva siddhānta scholars

(i) These inscriptions invariably begin with an invocation to Śiva and other deities of Śaiva pantheon. They reveal a full fledged Śaiva mythology and pantheon

¹ सकलनिष्ठलालक्षण्यतामन्तरपेक्षदीक्षारुदामानानुसरणमोक्ष इति संदर्भवैशिपिवा । *Yatastilaka*, Vol II, p 269

² दत्तव्येच्छनामलवदुपशमो मोक्ष । *Praśastapada*, p 144. But in the *Apta pariksha* (under verse 11, see also *Yatastilaka and Indian Culture*, p 218) ज्ञानशयितस्तु ति कर्मणीषि कस्यचिन्न विश्वयते चेतनात्मवादिभि कैश्चिद्वैशिपिकसिद्धान्तमभ्युपगच्छद्विर्मुक्तात्मन्यपि चेतनाया प्रतिज्ञानात् ।

That this was also the view of Śaivas is known from Bhaskara who in his *Bhāskhyā*, 2.2.37 notes पाशुपतवैशिपिक-नैयायिक-कापालिकानामविशिष्टा मुक्त्यवस्थाया पापाणकल्पा आत्मानो भवन्तीति । साख्यशैवयोश्च विशिष्टा आत्मानश्चैतन्यस्वभावास्तिष्ठन्तीति ।

³ Manibhadra in his commentary on *Shad darsana samuchchaya* mentions this view of Vyomaśiva — यद्यपि औलूक्यशासने व्योमशिवाच्चार्योक्तानि श्रीणि प्रमाणानि तथा श्रीधरमतापेक्षया अत्र उभे एव निगदिते ।

(p 63) Keith *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p 56 n.

(ii) The *Bilhari inscription*¹ states that even “sacred knowledge and due discrimination “are dependent on the devotion to Śiva”. Austerities destroy the darkness of ignorance and set a person on the path of *nirvāna*² which would be obtained by *bhakti-yoga*.³

(iii) Salvation is the greatest of pleasures and comes as a “downpour of nectar” in the form of bliss which could only be experienced.⁴

(iv) The *āgamas* are regarded as the most authoritative work. Worship is done in accordance with the *āgamas*. This high position assigned to these revealed scriptures necessitated the recognition of *śabda* as an independent source of valid knowledge.⁴

Thus, the Śaiva Siddhānta school was affiliated to the *Saiddhāntika* section of Vaiśeshika philosophy. On the basis of literary evidence it seems that this school came into existence sometime before ninth century A.D. Vyomaśiva who differed from the earlier *āchāryas* in some of the principles noted above, flourished in the beginning of tenth century A.D. By the time of Somadeva Sūri (c. 966 A.D.) differences in two schools of the Vaiśeshikas were clearly crystallized and in the fourteenth century A.D. Jain writers made an unqualified statement that the Vaiśeshika school was devoted to Śiva worship. This would indicate the influence gradually exerted by the Śaiva school on the Vaiśeshika philosophy.

Inscriptions of these ascetics do not mention the fundamental philosophical concepts of the Siddhānta school. The *First Baijnath Praśasti*, however, contains metaphysical terms used in it. The inscription addresses Śiva as Paśupati⁵ who cuts the bonds (*pāśa*) of persons devoted to him.

¹ भवति नृपतिवंशे जन्म पृथ्वी च भोग्या श्रुतमुच्चितविचारश्चारुह्यप्रभावः ।
समरविजयसम्पत्तस्य यो निःप्रपञ्चं चरणयुगलमूलं संथितः शंकरस्य ॥
E.I., I, p. 261, V. 75.

² शिष्यस्तस्य शिखाशिवः शिखिसमो विभ्रत्तपस्तेजसा ।
दीपत्वं विनिपातितान्धतमसो निब्बाणमार्गे स्थितिः ॥
Chandreh Ins. of Prabodhasiva, K.E. 724=973 A.D., MASI, XIII,
p. 117 ff.

³ किमिह वहुभिरुक्तैर्निथि सर्वस्य हेतुर्भवतु भवति नित्यं भक्तियोगो ममैकः ।
सकलसुखविशेषाद्यत्र पीयूषवर्पः स्वयमनुभवगम्यो जायते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥
E.I., I, p. 261.

⁴ See note ‘5’ above.

⁵ यद्यप्यहं पशुपते कुमतिद्र एव ॥१॥
पाशच्छेदन कर्त्तरि प्रणमतां मोहात्थकूपबुड्ल ॥२॥ *E.I., I p. 104 ff.*

Paśu as *anu*¹ staying in the body is also mentioned. *Mala*² is said to have been destroyed by the sight of Śiva.

4 YOGA

Yogic practices hold an important place in the āgamic works. Inscriptions also betray influence in the Śaiva siddhanta school.

The *Gurgi Ins* records that Praśānta Śiva had attained mastery over postures of sitting (*jiṭāsana*). His mind was devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva inside his lotus like heart (and therefore) he possessed inner satisfaction.³

Prabodhaśiva lived on green leaves (*sāka*), roots of water plants (*sāluka*) and fruits such as *āmalaka*, *priyāla* as well as roots.⁴ The *Gurgi Ins* informs us of his building an abode for the siddhas on the banks of the river Sona "having entered which *yogis* who had exterminated anxieties caused by the impediments through the performance of vows, who were free from passions, who had attained success in meditation and whose mind was clear, acquire the position (fit) for obtaining emancipation".⁵

5 KRIYĀ

Excavation of water reservoirs, construction of temples, installation of images, founding of monasteries and other architectural activities constitute the third section of the āgamas known as 'kriyā'.

¹ वहुदेहान्तरस्थाणु त्वमेव किल वस्यते ॥८॥ *Ibid*

² मलादिहृवयालहादिदशनंतो दिने दिने ॥८॥ *Ibid*

³ आनीनस्य जितासनस्य विजने हृत्पद्ममध्यस्थितस्याणु-ध्यानं निलीन-निश्चलमनः सवेदितान्तर्मुद ॥१५॥

MASI, XXIII, p 128 ff

⁴ विचार्यं नितिलागमान्विधिसमाधिवद्वेश्वर

प्रियालकलमूलवामस्थानशालूपमुक् ।

MASI, XXIII, p 117 ff

⁵ सिद्धस्थानमचीकरत् ॥ ॥ ॥ य शोणतीरोपरि ।

यस्मिन् योगजुप प्रविश्य नियमध्वस्तान्तरायाध्य

शान्तं सिद्धसमाधयी धु(ध्य)च्छ मतयो गच्छन्ति मुवते पदम् ॥

MASI, XXIII, p 117 ff

In *MASI* Dr Banerjee has corrected the last line as *adhiamatayo gachchhantimuktehpadam* but in *EI*, XXII, p 127 he reads it as *achchhamataya* but *adhiamataya* suits the context better. *adhiyan* is a technical term of Śaiva yoga.

Kriyā was a popular feature of the Śaiva Siddhānta school. Inscriptions record the excavation of wells, *vāpiṣ*¹ and other water-reservoirs, founding of several *māṭhas*² and abodes of *siddhas*,³ the installation of Śaiva images⁴ and similar activities by the Śaiva ascetics of Dāhala region. The *Malkāpuram*⁵ Ins. describes the establishment of colleges, feeding-houses and hospitals by Viśveśvara-śiva of Golakī Māṭha.

6. CHARYĀ

Charyā consists of daily rituals, worship of images and *yantras*, celebration of festivals and similar activities.

A. *Daily Rituals* :—Fire-rituals with Śaiva *mantras* were daily performed. Prabodhaśiva is compared with Kumāra because he was as much versed “in pouring libations on high tongues of fire as Kumāra is in tending his bird-conveyance peacock.”⁶ Mind of Gangādhara was purified by the most sacred texts of the Śaiva doctrine in consequence of the oblations duly thrown in fire three times a day at the worship of the moon-crested god⁷ Śiva.

¹ अनुगीर्णमयो सिन्धुप्रख्यं तडागमचीखनत् ।

प्रचुरसलिलं कूपं चात्र प्रवोधशिवः शमी ॥१६॥ *MASI*, XXIII, p. 117 ff.

He re-excavated another well also which was originally dug by his preceptor (V. 18, *Ibid*).

स खलु देवतायतनवान्वापीनिवेशः शुभः ।

सोद्यानः प्रथते स्वकीर्तिविभवः साक्षादिवानश्वरः ॥ *EI*, I, p. 354 ff.

² The wealth in the *māṭhas* is described in the Ranod Ins :—

स्फारैधन्यहिरण्यरत्ननिवैश्चिन्मःपमन्तर्वहि

स्वंगतुंगतुरंगमैर्मदभरोदघूतैश्च गज्जदगजैः ।

स्वस्थानस्य विशीर्णविद्रुतमठस्प्रोदामलक्ष्मीभूतो

भूभागास्तपसा पुनर्वहृचः संरेजिरे यस्य च ॥३०॥ *Ibid*.

³ *MASI*, XXIII, p. 122. V. 13.

⁴ यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुमग्रा च मिश्रमीशं पडाननमय प्रथितोरुकीर्तिः ।

प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान् द्वारे तथा गणपतिं च सरस्वतीं च ॥१३॥

MASI, XXIII, p. 122 ff.

शिवयुग्ममृमादेवीं नाट्येश्वरविनायकौ ।

स मठं मन्दिरै रम्यैरयमेतान्यचीकरत् ॥ *EI*, I, 354 ff.

⁵ *JAHRS*, IV, p. 147 ff.

⁶ उदग्रशिखितपूर्णप्रगुणितैकपाणिक्षमं

कुमार इव सर्वदा परिहृतांगनासंगमः । *MASI*, XXIII, p. 117 ff.

⁷ सातत्यान्नित्यकृत्याहुतिभिरपचितौ चन्द्रमौलेस्त्रिकालं

न्यस्ताभिर्यस्य शैवागममहितमहामन्त्रपूतान्तरस्य । V. 13, *EI*, II, p.

B Worship —It was the most important activity under this category

(a) Procedure —Inscriptions do not yield detailed information regarding it. The *Bilhari Ins*¹ records that it was conducted in accordance with the āgamic precepts. It further indicates that in the beginning, deity was bathed and then it was worshipped by offerings of flowers which was followed by the presentation of white garments² garlands sandal, elephants borses etc. In the end hymns were recited and salutations were made

(b) Forms of Śiva —Out of the sixteen³ forms recognised in the Śaiva siddhānta inscriptions mention Uma mahesvara, *Gangādhara*⁴ and Nātyesvara forms. Vyomaśīva had set up the images of Uma mahesvara, Umā, Nātyosvara and *Vinayaka*⁵. Prabhāvāśīva, likewise installed Umā, Umā mahesvara, *Shadānana*, *Sarasvatī* and *Ganeśa*⁶.

Nātyesvara seems to be a popular form. Śīva in this form has been invoked several times in inscriptions. It may, however, be stated that nowhere in inscriptions do we get any suggestion for the interpretation of five fold activities (*pañcha kṛitya*) of *Īśvara*.

C Pantheon —Inscriptions mention Ganapati,⁷ Shadānana, Umā and Sarasvatī as important Śaiva deities

¹ सम्पूज्य देवमीशानन्मिभवे स्वैर्यंयोचितं

यथागम यथाशास्त्र स्तोत्र विहितवानृप ॥७२॥ *EI*, I, 251 ff

² निमज्ज्य यो रत्ननिधी श्रीमान्सोमेश्वर शर्न

अभ्यच्छव्य काचने पद्मैरयान्यत् न्यवेदयत् ॥६१॥

सोमेश्वराभ्यच्छन्म् ॥

दत्वा य करिवाजिशुभवसनसक्क्वन्दनादोन्पुन

ससाराथमशान्तयेति विनतस्तुष्टाव तुष्ट प्रभु ॥६२॥ *Ibid*

³ *ISG* pt IV, pp 409 416

⁴ *EI*, I, p 251, V 1, *MASI*, XXIII, p 117 ff, V 1

⁵ शिवयुग्ममुमादेवी नाट्येश्वरविनायवी ॥४४॥ *EI*, I, pp 354 ff

⁶ य प्रत्यतिष्ठपदुमामुमया च मिथमीश पठाननमयप्रथितोरकीर्ति ।

प्रामादसनिहितदेवगृहेषु विदान द्वारे तथा गणपति च सरस्वती च ॥१२॥

MASI, XXIII, p 122 ff

APPENDIX

THE RĀJAGURUS OF KALACHURI KINGS

Like the succession of spiritual royal preceptors of the Cholas, there was an unbroken line of *rājagurus* of the Kalachuri kings running for more than two hundred and fifty years. *The Malkāpuram Ins. of Kākātiya king Rudradeva S. 1183, the Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalladeva, the Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva, the Jubblepur (Kotawali) Ins. of Jayasimha* and a few others furnish interesting details with regard to this line.

The *Malkāpuram Ins.* states that the Kalachuri king Yuvarājadeva of Dāhala region made a munificent grant of three lakhs of villages to Sadbhāva-śambhu who founded a monastery known as Golakī *maṭha*. Dr. R. C. Majumdar,¹ Dr. D. C. Ganguli² and Dr. B. A. Saletore³ identify this Yuvarajādeva with Yuvarājadeva-Keyūravarsha I, the son of *Mugdhatunga* while Dr. D. C. Sircar takes him as Yuvarājadeva II, the younger son of Lakshmaṇarāja.⁴ The view of Dr. Sircar seems to be erroneous. *The Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva* gives the succession of *rājagurus*. According to it, Purushaśiva was the spiritual preceptor of Yaśālikarna.⁵ The mutilated portion gives the names of the preceding generations of ascetics who filled the important role of the *rājaguru* but those of their royal disciples have been lost. The combined evidence of the *Malkāpuram* and the *Jubblepur* inscriptions proves that Sadbhāva-śambhu flourished six generations before Purushaśiva and, therefore, he must have been contemporary of Yuvarājadeva I who was the predecessor of Yaśālikarna by six generations. As there is the corresponding succession of the *rājagurus* and their royal disciples the identification seems well-nigh certain.

Sadbhāvaśambhu on the other hand is same as Prabhāvaśiva of the Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions, because

- (i) All facts recorded with regard to Sadbhāva-śambhu in the *Malkāpuram Ins.* are noted with relation to Prabhāvaśiva in the Gurgi and Chandrehe inscriptions. According to the Gurgi inscription it was Prabhāvaśiva who was made to accept

¹ History of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 684.

² Age of the Imperial Kanātja, p. 89.

³ Ancient Karnāṭaka, I. p. 392.

⁴ JUPHS, 1952, pp. 227 ff.

⁵ EI, XXV, p. 311 ff. V. 17.

the land grant by Yuvarāja¹ I while the Chandrehe inscription states that Yuvarājadeva I established a monastery at an enormous cost for Prabbavaśīva in the Dahala region²

- (ii) The use of synonyms of names is a noted characteristic of Indian epigraphy and has been observed in the case of other ascetics of this line also. Thus Chudaśīva of the Bilhari and the Gurji inscriptions is written as Śikhaśīva in the inscription at Chandrehe. In the Malkāpurum inscription the change in name is due to the metrical exigency. The metre required a *tagana* in the place and hence *Prabhava* a *jagana* has been changed to *sadbhāva* a *tagana*.

After *Sadbhāva Śambhu* came *Somaśambhu*³ who was succeeded by *Vāmaśambhu*. The inscription notes that 'the Kalachuri kings are still mentioned in inscriptions (*prāśasti*) as meditating upon his feet' (*charanāradhakālaḥ*).⁴ Seven kings⁵ of this region are styled in inscriptions

१ तस्यासिलक्षितिपत्रपणनोत्तमागचूडामणिद्युतिचमाच्छितपादपीठ ।
शिष्यो वभूर भूवनश्यकीर्तनीय श्रीमत्रभावदिवनाम गुनिमंगनीषी ॥६॥
आनीय य नद्यजवासनया नद्यश्य श्रीमुखवृगतनयो युवराजदेव ।
सत्योपदारभवदुत्तमर्हीतहेतोरग्राह्य मठमनन्तधनप्रतिष्ठम् ॥७॥

२ ततो मधुमतीपते शृतमहातपस्मच्य
प्रभावशिव इत्यभूतसन्दर्शयचूडामणि ।
अनेकनृपवर्दित स युवराजदेव
यस्तपोधनपति शृतचरणपूतगोलगिनव ॥५॥

३ The Malkāpuram Ins informs us that *Somaśambhu* had composed a *paddhati*. Aufrecht therefore identifies this *Somaśambhu* with his namesake whose *paddhati* has been found in manuscript form *Ep Rep of the S Circle*, 1917, p. 126 but the identification is evidently wrong because the other *Somaśambhu* was the disciple of Śīva (should be corrected as *Sarvāśīva*) the *rājaguru* of the Chola kings. See ante p. 36.

४ अद्यापि कलचुरीशा यच्चरणाराधका प्रशस्यन्ते ।

the word *prashyante* may mean "described in *prāśasti* or inscriptions" and the word *Charanāradhakāla* has a clear reference to *Vamadeva pādanudhyata*. According to Mahamahopādhyāya Prof V. V. Mirashi Vamadeva was a predecessor of the Kalachuri kings (*EI*, XXVI) but contra Dr D. C. Sircar (*JUPHS*, 1952, p. 227). The evidence in favour of Dr Sircar's view is rather strong.

५ See ante p. 36.

as *Vāmadevapādānudhyāta*. Jonarāja in his commentary on the *Prithvirāja-Vijaya*¹ furnishes the interesting information that the Kalachuri king Sāhasika dedicated-his whole kingdom to his preceptor the ascetic Vāmadeva and started to conquer the whole earth. The king Sāhasika, however, does not figure in the Kalachuri genealogy. Dr. D. C. Sircar² identifies him with Gāngeyadeva because he assumed the title of Vikramāditya and the celebrated Vikramāditya was known as Sāhasāṅka=Sāhasika. Secondly, Vāmadeva is third from Sadbhāvaśambhu who, according to Sircar, was a contemporary of Yuvarājadeva II and therefore Gāngeyadeva, the grandson of Yuvarāja II should have been a contemporary of Vāmadeva.

But Vāmadeva flourished four generations before Purushaśiva the preceptor of the king Yaśahkarna and therefore he can in no way be contemporary of Yaśahkarna's grandfather Gāngeyadeva. The mutilated portion of the *Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva* mentions the name of Vāstuśiva, the preceptor's preceptor of Purushaśiva who was probably the *rājaguru* of Gāngeyadeva. In the succession as known from inscriptions, Vāmaśiva was contemporary of Yuvarājadeva II and hence it was he who dedicated his kingdom to Vāmaśiva. The Kalachuri inscriptions also indicate the samething. The *Bilhari Ins.* repeatedly states that Yuvarājadeva II worshipped Śiva by his *vaibhava* i.e. kingship or wealth. It also quotes a *stotra* composed by Yuvarājadeva II in which he mentions the renunciation of all material prosperity and pleasure in favour of *bhaktiyoga*. The stotra seems to be a hymn of dedication. The inscription states that after worshipping³ Śiva by his wealth he composed the following hymn⁴ :—

“For those who are swayed by passion and whose minds are given up to sensual pleasure, this wealth becomes a cause of intoxication, Oh ! granter of boons.”

“Birth in a princely family, sovereignty over the earth, sacred knowledge, due discrimination, beautiful form, and victory in battle come to him who takes refuge with holy feet of Śankara.

¹ See ante p. 36

² JUPHS, 1951-1952, p. 227-232.

³ सम्पूज्य देवमीशानम्बिभवैः स्वैर्यथोचितैः ।

यथागमं यथाशास्त्रं स्तोत्रम्बिहितवान्नृपः ॥७२॥

⁴ VV. 73-75.

"What¹ is the use of making many words? Let there be, Oh lord! only one thing for me, and that is, firm devotion in you which is the source of all other things (enumerated above) and is the greatest of all pleasures—the shower of nectar which could only be experienced (and not expressed) through thy favour fall upon me"

This hymn very strongly suggests that Yuvarāja II dedicated his empire to lord Śiva, I would like, therefore to identify Śivasūka with Yuvara jadeva II.

The *Malkapuram Inscription* leaves the names of four *rājagurus* who flourished after Vāmaśambhu and continues its narration from Śaktisiva. The Jubblepur Stone Ins of Vimalasiva fortunately supplies the missing link. Vimalasiva and then Vāstuśiva flourished in succession. The name of the disciple of Vāstuśiva is lost in the Jubblepur inscription. It was probably Rudrasiva. The line of succession indicates that he must have been *rājaguru* during the period of Lakshmikarna. The A S B CP² of Govindachandra mentions Rudrasiva as the *rājaguru* of Yaśahkarna but the Jubblepur inscription explicitly notes that Purushasiva was the spiritual preceptor of Yaśahkara. It seems that Rudrasiva was the *rājaguru* during early period of Yaśahkara and later on Purushasiva succeeded him on the post. Thus, Rudrasiva might have been the *rājaguru* during the period of Lakshmikarna and probably it was the name lost in the mutilated portion of the Jubblepur Inscription. Ascetics in the next three lines are mentioned both in the Malāapuram and the Jubblepur inscriptions. Śaktisiva is mentioned in connection with Gayakarṇa while Kṛtiśiva is said to have contributed to the prosperity of Narasimha. The next ascetic Vimalasiva is mentioned in the Jubblepur (*Kotairol*) Ins of Jayasundadera and the Reia CP of Traiokyamallidera. He was the *rājaguru* during the rule of Jayasunha. The Reia CP of Traiokyamalla records Śāntasiva the Kali incarnation of Durvāsā and his younger brother (co-disciple) Nudr śiva as disciples of Vimalasiva. The latter had executed a mortgage deed on behalf of the former in which he pledged a village. They are not, however, mentioned in the Malkapuram Ins which records the ascetic Dharmasiva as the disciple of Vimalasiva. His disciple Viśveśvarasiva

¹ विमिह वदुभिद्यन्ते प्रथि सद्येस्य हतुभंवति भयतु नित्य भवित्यागा मर्येष ।
सबलगुप्तविरोपाद्यशीत्यूपर्यं स्वयमनभवगम्या जायत त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥७०॥

The translation given above differs from Kielhorn's

² JASB, XXXI, pp. 123 ff

established an extensive monastery at Malkāpuram in Mysore and initiated the king Gaṇapati in this faith.

Thus, there was a line of *rājagurus* running from Yuvarājadeva II to the end of the Kalachuri dynasty. It may be shown as follows :—

<i>Inscriptions</i>	<i>Ascetics</i>	<i>Kings</i>	<i>Ramerks</i>
	Guhavasi		
1	Sadbhāva-śambhu	Prabhāva-śiva of Chandrehe and Gurgi Ins.	
1	Somaśambhu		
1	Vāmaśambhu	[Yuvarājadeva II]	
2	Vimalaśiva	[Kokalla II]	
2	Vāstuśiva	[Gāngeyadeva]	
2+3	[Rudra]śiva	[Lakshmikarṇa and Yaśahkarṇa]	
2	Purusha-śiva	Yaśahkarṇa	
1+2	Śakti-śiva	Gayākarna	
1+2	Kirttiśiva	Narasimha	
1+2+4+5	Vimalaśiva	Jayasimha	
	Sāntaśiva-Nādaśiva	Dharmaśiva	
	5	1	
		Viśveśvara	

No. of Inscriptions :—

1. The Malkāpuram Ins. of the Kākatiya king Rudradeva, *JAHRS*, IV, pp. 147 ff.
2. The Jubblepur Ins. of Vimalaśiva, *EI*, XXV, p. 309ff.
3. The *ASB*. CP. of Govindachandra, *JASB*, XXXI, pp. 123ff.
4. The Jubblepur (Kotawali Ins.) of Jayasimha, *EI*, XXI, p. 95.
5. The Rewa CP. of Trailokyamalla, *EI*, XXV, p. 1ff.

VIII. MISRA SCHOOL: THE CULT OF THE PENTAD

The tendency of *rapprochement* in orthodox religious sphere resulted in *pañchadevopāsanā* i.e. the worship of five deities as advocated by the Smārtas. The movement was started much before our period, but it could take a definite form only towards its conclusion in 11th century A.D.

The Smārta cult of the Pentad was initiated by the āgamieas—Śaivas as well as Vaishṇavas. The Śaiva Pentad had different varieties and they came into vogue by 11th-12th century A.D.

Misra Śaiva School : The Smārta Cult of the Pentad : Its Evolution :

The worship of Śiva with Sun, Śakti (mother-goddess), Gaṇeśa and Viṣhṇu was performed in the Misra Pāśupata School.¹ This is same as smārta Pañchadevopāsanā.

The later smārta treatises prescribe the daily worship of these Five Deities for a householder.² It is sometimes stated that the cult in this form was popularised by the advaita teacher Sāmkara but it is extremely doubtful.³

The first stage in the development of the pentad cult was the evolution of trinity composed by Brahmā, Viṣhṇu and Śiva.

A. The Trinity (*Trideva*) :-

(a) *Association of Śiva and Viṣhṇu* :—In the beginning we find the association of two great gods—Śiva and Viṣhṇu who came to be worshipped together. A late inscription from Kāmarūpa, describing the king as a devout worshipper of both Śiva and Viṣhṇu seems to have preserved an echo of earlier times.⁴ A wish has been expressed in a Chamba inscription that the dedicator of a fountain-slab (*dvāribandha*) may attain the regions of both Śiva and Viṣhṇu.⁵ *The Bhandaka Cp. of Krishnarāja S. 674=772 A.D.* is the earliest in the series to invoke Śiva and Viṣhṇu in a single verse by way of benediction.⁶ *The Nagpur Ins. of V. S 1161=1104 A.D.* addresses

¹ र्वं शम्भुं तथा शक्तिं विघ्नेशं च जनादेनम् ।

यज्ञित्वा समभावेन, मित्रपादूपते हि तत् ॥

² आदित्यमस्त्विका विष्णुं गणनाथं महेश्वरम् ।

पञ्चयज्ञपरो नित्यं गृहस्थः पञ्च पूजयेत् ॥ *Smṛti-muktāphala*, p. 384.

³ *History of Dharma-Sāstra* II, II, p. 717.

⁴ *EI*, II, p. 353, L. 48.

शिवलोकार्थे विष्णुपरलोकआरथार्थे—

Antiquities of Chamba, p. 223.

⁵ *EI*, XIV, p. 121.

Siva and Vishṇu together in an interesting way. "Siva and Vishṇu form a peculiar combination", the inscription, says, "as they are passionless and passionate, clad in tigerskin and costly garments, garlanded with the strings of human skulls and flower-wreaths, decked with serpents and pearl-strings and smeared with ashes and anointed with perfumes."¹ *The Madhai-nagar Cp. of Lakshmanasena* prays "Siva who sustained Hari in his most peculiar body".²

Syncretic form composed by combining Siva and Vishṇu in one image called *Harihara* or *Krishna-Śamkara* also indicates the fusion. Several such images have been found.

A further development of this *Harihara* form is the Pradyumnesvara motif in which Siva, Pārvatī, Lakshmī and Nārāyaṇa are carved on both the sides of statue to combine (a) *Harihara* (b) *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa* and (c) *Umā-Maheśvara* forms. We know that such a syncretic image was installed in the sanctum of the Pradyumnesvara temple built by Vijayasena of Bengal.³

(b) *Vishṇu and Brahmā* :—The Kachhapaghāṭa king Vīrasimha is styled as a devout worshipper of Vishṇu and a great *Brahmanyā*.⁴ This association is attested by a peculiar image representing Brahmā and Vishṇu together having one body.⁵

(c) *Siva and Brahmā* :—Similarly, titles like *parama-brahmanyā*⁶ *parama-māheśvara* i.e. a devout worshipper of both Siva and Brahmā, *parama-māheśvara-mahā-brahmanyā*⁷ and *parama-māheśvareti-brahmanyāḥ*⁸ indicate worshippers of Siva and Brahmā both. *The Rewa Ins. of Malaya-*

¹ वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमालां च मात्यानि च
व्याघ्रानेकपचमर्मणी च वसनं चाहींश्च हारादि च ।
यद्भूतिं च विलेपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च यद्
तद्विश्याद्रूपमुमारमणयोर्मुक्तिं च भुक्तिं च वः ।

El., 11, P. 183 ff.

² *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p.

³ "Pradyumnesvara Motif in Sena period" *JASB*, 1956, IB, III, p. 46 V. 2

⁴ *JAOS*. VI, pp. 542-47; See also, *Pandukesvara CP. of Lalita Sundadeva A. D. 853*, IA, XXV, 178.

⁵ *History of Bengal*, I, P. 48, pl. I.

⁶ *Sungala CP. of Vidagdha A. C. P.* 166.

⁷ *Rewah CP. Ins. of the Mahāraṇaka Kīrtivarman*, IA, XVII, p. 225 ff.

⁸ *Nirmand CP. Ins. of Maharāṇaka Maharaja Samudrasena 6 II*, III, p. 286 ff.

*simha*¹ reveals the existence of a sect which was devoted to worship of Śiva and Brahmā together. Some Chedi inscriptions² salute Brahmā in the beginning immediately followed by an invocation to Śiva while others invoke Śiva in the form of Brahmā as the creator of the universe and the reiter of the Vedas.³ This will corroborate the conclusion stated above.

(d) *Brahmā Vishnu and Śiva —The Karitalai Ins of Lakshmanarāja*

K S 593 opens with an invocation to Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva.⁴ The *Kulait Cp Ins of Somatarmā* describes the King Śīlavaḥan as a devout worshipper of Śiva, Vishnu and Brahmā.⁵ The *Māndhātā Cp of Devapāla Paramara* V S 1255 invokes the trinity as *Kaśa* i.e. *Brahmā prajāpati*, Śiva and Vishnu combined.⁶ *Kaśa* (Ka=Brahmā, E=Vishnu and Iśi=Śiva) has been described as “resembling the waterlily, the blackbee, and the Kāśa grass, having respectively for weapons menacing utterance (*humkāra*), a discus and the *pināka*, moving on a bird (swan), a bird (garuda) and bull and residing in a lotus, water and mountain”. Such combined images in the *Harihara pitāmaha*, *Dattātreyā* and *Kāśa* forms are discovered in large numbers.⁷

¹ The verse transcribed by Sri R D Banerji is as

ब्रह्मणा तानवादिना वेदतपावार्थयोगिना ।

निस्तीर्णीनि पापण्डानि यत्र माणवकरपि ॥ V 32

Firstly, adjectives in singular *bāhmanesānārādīnā* etc., cannot qualify the noun *mānataka* in plural and secondly there cannot be any gap between Brahmā Śāna because the eight letters of *amishtubh* are already complete. I would therefore, correct the verse as —

ब्रह्मणा (ं) तानवादिना वेदतपा (त्वा) र्थयोगिना ।

निस्तीर्णीनि पापण्डानि यत्र माणवकर(केना)पि ॥

The phrase ‘*Brahmnesānārādīn*’ i.e. a follower of the sect devoted to Brahmā and Isāna (*Śiva*)

² EI, II, pp 1-7

³ IA, XVIII, p 210

⁴ ओ नमोस्तु द्रहिणोपेन्द्रदेह्य ।

⁵ AC p 184

⁶ कैश कञ्जलिकाशाभा हुँकारारिपिनाकिन ।

विविगोगतयो दद्यु सर्वोम्बु (जाम्बु) नपीवस ॥ V 3 IA, XX, 310

⁷ *Kaśi* is identical with the *Hariharapitāmaha* form of the *Rupamandana* but is different from *Hariharapitamaha* form described in *EHI*, I, I, pp 252 53

The temple with three sanets for the trinity—Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā having one *māṇḍapa* like one at Kesari in Gujrata¹ displays the close association of three gods. The inscriptions mention the construction of similar temples in other parts of the country.²

(e) Sūrya, Brahmā and Vishṇu formed another triad. The copper plates of Viśvarūpasena who was a devout worshipper of Sūrya open with a salutation to Śri-Nārāyaṇa followed by an invocation to Sūrya. It was authenticated by *Sadāśivamudrā*.³ The Gahaḍavāla inscriptions record the worship of this triad at the ceremony of gifts.⁴ A temple for the joint-worship of Śāmkara, Vishṇu and Bhāskara existed at Kargudri in Deccan.⁵

B. *The quadrumvarate* :—The inclusion of Sūrya in the trinity formed this quadrumvarate. Images combining Śiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā and Sūrya in one body have been found at Kiradu,⁶ Pavagarh,⁷ Khajuraho,⁸ Gujarat,⁹ Kālañjara,¹⁰ and elsewhere.¹¹ But it may be noted that no temple in India dedicated to the worship of these four deities together have been found.

Ancient temples which are termed as *Pañchāyatana* really group the shrines for four gods—Śiva, Vishṇu, Sakti and Sūrya. *The Rewa Ins. of Vappullaka* records the construction of a *Śiva-pañchāyatana* form of

¹ *Arch. of Guj.*, p. 31.

² The *Salotgi Pillar Ins.* (c) discloses the existence of a temple for *Trayipurusha* at the *agrahāra* of *Pavithage*. (*SI.*, IV., p. 57)

³ *IB.* III, pp. 133-134.

⁴ सूर्यभट्टारकं संपूज्य भगवन्तं महेश्वरमध्यर्च्य विश्वाधारं
वासुदेवं समाराध्य । *EI.*, II, p. 359 ff.

⁵ *IA.*, X, p. 25.

⁶ *ASIWC.*, 1907-08, p. 41.

⁷ *ASIWC.*, 1912 p. 48.

⁸ This has been termed as *Harihara-Hiranyakarbhū* in *Aparājita-Prichchhā* p., 546. *Īśāna-Śiva-guru-paddhati*, III, 27-30 names it *Sadāśiva*. It is regarded as a form of Sūrya in *Mark. P. CIX*, V. 71. See also *JISOA*, XVI, p. 87. At Khajuraho several such images have been found e. g. on the Eastern wall of the S. E. Subsidiary Shrine in the Lakshmana temple, and in Duladeo temple (see *Hindu Temples* II, pl. VI).

⁹ *Lamboji Mata temple at Detmal*, *Arch. Guj.* p. 163.

¹⁰ Near Nilankarantha temple at Kalanjara Fort.

¹¹ H. Krishna Sastri, "South Indian Gods and Goddesses" fig. 144.

temple in which four shrines were built for four gods on the sides¹. The record, however, is mutilated and gives the name of Vishnu alone who was installed in a subsidiary shrine as Lakshmi nārāyaṇa. The Brahmeśvara temple Ins. of Kolātasi likewise mentions the construction of four subsidiary shrines by the side of the main temple.² It however does not describe the gods in subsidiary shrines.

Panchāyatana temples of early medieval period have been found at Osia,³ Khajuraho,⁴ Bhuvaneśvara,⁵ and Kashmir. The Visnu-Panchāyatana temples at Khajuraho and Osia have Śiva, Śakti, Sūrya and Vishnu in the four subsidiary shrines grouped around the main shrine. Kashmir temple belonged to another category.

Thus this was another form of quidrumvaraṭa formed by the substitution of Brahmā by Śakti.

C Pañchadeva —The Kilau Cp. of Somararman in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. invokes five deities—Brahmā, Ganapati, Vishnu, Śakti and Śiva.⁶ But this pentad is not of the Smārtā variety as Sūrya has been substituted here by Brahmā.

¹ पचायतन शिवस्य L 18

पारश्वं देवकुली—चतुष्पृथ्ययुतस्तासुक्रमादेवता ।
ईशाने.....प लक्ष्मी सभारासना ।

LJ 14 and 15 MASI XXIII, p 180 ff

The side temples of the different gods were situated on the four sides in a definite order—Kramād. The concluding portion of the mutilated line is Lakshmi Sambhārasanā which would indicate that one of the four at least was Visnu.

² एवामे सिद्धतीये चतुरमरकुली चास्त्रालासमेत
कोलावत्या तथैषं शितिमुकुटनिभं वारित कीर्तिराज ॥

V 12 JASB, 1838, p. 577-62

³ ASI AR, 190

⁴ It is stated on the basis of personal study of the temples

⁵ Antiquities of Orissa, pp 58-89, Orissa or Her Remains N N Ganguli, pp 33-42

⁶ जयति भूवनवारण स्वप्नमूर्जयति पुरन्दरनन्दना मुरारि ।
जयति गिरिसुतानिरुद्धदेहो दुरितापहरोहरदत्त देव ॥

AC, p 184

"Girisuta" in second line may be construed (i) with miruddhadēva which would mean Śiva whose body has been appropriated by the daughter of the mountain or (ii) separately to mean that "the goddess Parvati be victorious along with Śiva who has controlled his senses (lit body)" Any way the sense would be that Parvati and Śiva be victorious either separately or in the composite form.

The evidence for the Smārta group of the five deities comes from the *lingas* of 11th century A.D. representing the four sectarian deities—Vishṇu, Śakti, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya on four sides.¹ Similarly, the miniature shrines² representing these five sectarian deities in sancta and around furnish the testimony for the prevalence of this cult in early and late mediaeval period.

It may, therefore, be concluded that the cult of the five deities as envisaged by the Smārtas came into vogue by 11th century A.D. and that it indicates the rapprochement of the Vedic and Āgamic tendencies. The views that *pañca-devopāsanā* was introduced by Sāṅkarācārya does not seem to be right.

A. *Lākuliśa Pañchadeva* :—Besides this Smārta variety, there were several Āgamic forms of Śaiva Pañchadeva group. Four disciples of Lākuliśa i.e., Kuśika, Gārgya, Maitreya and Kāruka along with Patañjali formed one group.³ This variety was transported to Indonesia where it survived for a very long time although literature and epigraphy in India do not contain any reference to it. The *Cinṭrā Praśasti* records another form. Gaṇḍa Tripurāntaka, a Pāśupata of Lākuliśa school, constructed a temple of Śiv surrounded by five sanctuaries of Goraksha, Bhairava, Āñjaneya (Hanumān), Sarasvatī and Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa).⁴ The epigraph explicitly describes as *pañchāyatana* (temples for a group of Five Gods). Both these varieties are of the Lākuliśa Pāśupata school.

B. *Siddhānta Pañchadeva* :—The Śaiva Siddhānta ascetic Prabodh Śiva, on the other hand, set up five deities around the sanctum. They were Śiva, Śakti, Kārttikeya, Sarasvatī and Gaṇeśa.⁵ As the daily works of these deities have been enjoined upon devotees in the *Īśāna-śiva-Gṛi Paddhati*, it seems that this form of Pañchadeva was accepted in the Siddhānta school.

¹ *Introducing India*, p. 20

² *Development of Hindu iconography*, (Second Edition) p. 545.

³ HBD., I, 406n.

⁴ गोरक्षकं भैरवमाञ्जनेयं सरस्वतीं सिद्धिविज्ञायकञ्च ।

चकार पञ्चायतनान्तराले वालेन्दुमौलिस्थितिमानसो यः ॥ EI., I, 1

⁵ यः प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदुमामुसया च मिश्रमीशं पडानन्तमथ प्रथितोरुकीर्तिः ।

प्रासादसन्निहितदेवगृहेषु विद्वान् द्वारे तथा गणपतिञ्च सरस्वतीञ्च ॥

References to Śaiva Pañchāyatana occur in the Brahmeśvara temple Inscription and the Koni Inscription of Kalachuri Prithvīdeva II K. E. 900¹ but subsidiary deities installed therein have not been specifically mentioned.

IX CONCLUSION

Inscriptions disclose three Śaiva movements. The earliest movement was started by Śrikanṭha who founded the Pāśupata schools centuries before Christian era. *Soma* a little later started at Prabhāsa two schools—(i) the school of logic known as *naya-soma* and (ii) the Śaiva devotional school called *Soma-siddhānta*. The association of schools of logic with Śaiva devotional sects is perceived still later. The Pāśupatas belonged to the Nyāya while the Śaiva were Vaiśeshikas.

Lakulīśa initiated the second movement which became in due course very influential. Inscriptions mention several important centres of this school during this period. Several branches sprung from them, Ananta section of the Pañchārthikas is specially noteworthy.

Guhāvāsi, just before this period originated a very powerful and vigorous movement which spread to the Punjab, Vārāṇasi, Dāhala province, Mālavā, Central India and Rajputānā. It sent its branches to Deccan, Tamil region and Andhra area.

A DIFFICULT PASSAGE IN PĀṄCHATANTRA LAKSHMĪ-VIDAMBANAM

V. S. AGRAWALA

The following passage in the Pāñchatantra requires reconsideration :

न च त्वयाप्तराज्योऽहमिति कृत्वा श्रीमदेनात्मा व्यंसयितव्यः । यत्कारणं चला हि
राज्ञां विभूतयः । कथम्—

- (1) वंशारोहणवद् राज्यलक्ष्मीरारोप्यक्षणनिगाता ।
- (2) पारतरसवत् प्रयत्नशतैरपि दुर्वार्या ।
- (3) स्वाराधिताप्यन्ते विप्रलभ्मनी ।
- (4) वानरपतिरिवानेकचित्तचपला ।
- (5) पद्मपत्रोदकराजिरिव दुःसङ्ख्लेपणीया ।
- (6) पवनगतिरिव चटुला ।
- (7) अनार्यसंगतिरिवास्थिरा ।
- (8) आशीविपजातिरिव दुरुपकार्या ।
- (9) संध्याभ्ररेखेव मूहूर्तरागा ।
- (10) जलबुद्वुदपंक्तिरिव स्वभावभंगुरा ।
- (11) शरीरप्रकृतिरिव क्रियमाणकृतधना ।
- (12) स्वप्नलब्धद्रविणराशिरिव क्षणदृष्टनप्टा ।¹

i References :

- (a) The Pāñchatantra I-V, The text in its oldest form edited by Franklin Edgerton ; Poona Oriental Book Agency, 1930 ; p. 99.
- (b) The Pāñchatantra Reconstructed by Franklin Edgerton Vol. I Text and Critical Apparatus ; American Oriental Series, 1924 pp. 367-68.
- (c) The Pāñchatantra Reconstraucted, by Franklin Edgerton Vol. I Introduction and Translation, American Oriental Series 1924 pp. 390-391.
- (d) The Pāñchatantra—Tantrākhyāyikā, by Johannes Hertel, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 14, 1915.
- (e) Pūrṇabhadra's Pāñchatantra (Pāñchākhyānaka, dated 1199 A.D.) by Johannes Hertel ; Harvard Oriental Series, 1908, pp. 226-227.
- (f) Pāñchatantra of Vishṇuśarman with Explanatory English notes by Nārāyaṇa Bālakrishṇa Godobole, edited by Kashinath Pandit rang Parab, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1902 : p. 182, note pp. 298-99.

